A DETECTION Of the ACTIONS OF MARY Queen of Scots,

CONCERNING

The Murther of Her HUSBAND, and Her Conſpiracy, Adultery, and pretended Marriage with the Earl *BOTHWEL.*

And a Defence of the True LORDS, Maintainers of the KING's Majeſties Action and Authority.

Written in Latin by G. BUCHANAN.

Tranſlated into Scotch. **And now made** Engliſh.

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To the Reader.

I *Think it neceſſary, for the* Reader's *better underſtanding the following Hiſtory, to acquaint him that* James the Fifth, *having loſt his two Sons (both in one Week) a little before he was ſlain at* Flodden-Field, *left no other Heir, but* Mary, *a Child of four days old, which he never had ſeen. This Child was accepted, and at five years of Age (the* Scots *ſeeing they were likely to make better Merchandiſe of her in* France *than with us in* England, *tho we then proffered high) ſent her into* France, *and at Twelve married her to the* Dolphin, *afterward* Francis *the* Firſt, *who at two Years left her a Widow, and ſo ſhe returned to* Scotland, *where ſhe found her Mother weltring in her Cruelties, (a* Guiſe) *and waſting and gathering with all her might. She being remov'd, the Queen came to be Maſter of her ſelf, and ſoon after in a Gayety took* Henry Lord Darley, *Son to the Earl of* Lenox, *one of the goodlieſt Perſonages accounted of his time, to her Husband. But it ſeems her firſt flames being allaied, there was one* David Rize *either had been, or was grown more into Favor ſo that the* King *grew every day diſcountenanced; And whereas before in the Coins (as many of them I have ſeen, comparing the Years) it was in the end of one Year,* Henricus & Maria, &c. *it was in the beginning of the other,* Maria & Henricus, &c. *And inſtead of receiving the Honor of a King, he was ſent away from the Court without either Train or Neceſſaries. This with other Information of the Queens Carriages, and the Incouragement of ſome of the Nobility brought him back to* Edenburgh, *where finding* David *in the Queens Company, ſnatch'd him out of her Preſence, (giving her ſome words of Comfort and Aſſurance, for ſhe was then great with Child) and with ſome of his Aſſiſtance ſent him into another Life.*

This Minion *being gone,* Bothwel *came into Favor, and that how ſwiftly and powerfully you may perceive by the Letters annexed to the Diſcourſe: but her hate to her Husband was ſo exaſperated, that both her and* Bothwel's *Malice and Wits, made his Deſtruction their chief aim. Her Carriage to him grew every day more and more ſtrange, ſhe augmented her Neglect, in ſo much that at the Chriſtning of that Son, who was after a Plague to this Nation, he was not ſuffered to receive the leaſt Honors or Addreſſes.*

She being again at liberty then thought to beſtir her ſelf about the compaſſing of Revenge; Poyſon was attempted, but the ſtrength of his Youth overcame it; which the accurſed Woman ſeeing, flattered him into Agreement, and preſently lull'd him into Credulity; ſo that he came again to Edenburgh, *and was lodg'd in a little Houſe near the Palace, but out of all Hearing. Hither ſhe brought her own rich Bed, and frequently viſited him with all ſhews of Affection. But one Sunday Night, ſhe diſcovered her ſelf, and fetching a deep Sigh,* O, *ſays ſhe,* this time twelve Month was *David Rize* ſlain. *This it ſeems came from her heart; for within a few days, the unfortunate young Man, as an* Inferiæ *to the Ghoſt of a Fidler, was ſtrangled in his Bed, the Houſe blown up, and his Body thrown out into the Garden, the Queens rich Bed being a day or two before removed.*

Now was ſhe at liberty for Bothwel, *but there was one Obſtacle, he had a Wife already, but ſhe poor Woman muſt be forced to ſue out a Divorce, which was procured in eight days. So that now the way was ſmooth, and an Ambaſſador with fine penn'd Inſtructions ſent to*

the King of France, *to give an account of her new marriage. But all this could not ſtill the Crys of the People, whoſe impatience, grief, and rage at that time (particulars whereof I have ſeen in an authentick* Scotch *Diurnal of that date) was ſuch, that* Bothwel *was forced to ſuborn ſome People to accuſe him; but he having Creatures enough, few daring to witneſs, and many Judges of his party, was acquitted. But at laſt the honeſt part of the Nobility, ſenſible of thoſe miſcarriages, made a Head, broke* Bothwel's *Forces, put him to flight, took her Priſoner, and made her reſign up the Government to her Son, (all this before the ſaid Ambaſſador who was ſent into* France, *had had his firſt Audience) then a Child in the Cradle, known afterwards by the name of* James *the Sixth.*

This is as much as I can ſay will give light to the Book that follows. 'Twas written by the moſt excellent Pen of that Age, a Man, as Sir Philip Sidney *juſtly calls him, of a piercing Wit, conſummate Learning, and careful Obſervation of things, which made him known to the greateſt Princes of his Time, and dear to his own. This made him School-maſter to his King, who imploy'd him in the weightieſt Tranſactions at home and abroad, made him Keeper of the Privy Seal of* Scotland (*tho he never ſought himſelf, nor could withdraw from the ancient Parcimony and Frugality, he dying very poor.*) *So that it is not to be ſuppoſed that a Perſon ſo well qualified for knowledge in theſe things, and of a Reputation ſo untouch'd, would have adventur'd to divulge matters of this nature, in a place where moſt men might have call'd him Lyar. But certainly, both in his Hiſtory, which he dedicated to the* Son, *and in this Piece, which be penn'd in the name of the Lords, if there were any fault, it was too broad. And tho worthy Maſter* Cambden *in his* Annals *tells us,* He wiſhed, he might have wiped out all that he had writ againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots* with his Blood, *yet when I conſider the Times he writ in, and the general ſilence of it among the* Scots, *and the diſgrace that* Buchanan *died in when King* James *came to maturity; methinks I cannot give ſo much credit in this to that famous Hiſtorian, as in other things, though he might* mendacium dicere, *not* mentiri.

And tho Cauſſin *in his* Holy Court, *make her a* Heroine, *nay, a* Saint: *and* Strada *in his* De Bello Belgico, *digreſſes to celebrate her with immoderate praiſes, yet certainly any man, that would guide his hiſtorical faith aright, will much rather chooſe to believe men either Actors in a Buſineſs, or neighbors to it, and ſuch as receive aſſurance from their eyes, than men that are remote, and ſuch as are neceſſitated to ſee through the falſe or broken light of Information; eſpecially Perſons hid in* Cells, *and* excluded *from* Buſineſs, *abſolutely* devoted *to a Religion, to which ſhe was an* Appuy, *and abſolute Enemy to that Power, under which ſhe receiv'd juſt Sentence and Execution. To ſay nothing that the* Religious, *eſpecially thoſe that ſeek to grow into the repute of the World by carnal ways, think themſelves highly advanced by a long Bead-roll of Martyrs, be their pretences never ſo ſlight, or their Perſons themſelves never ſo much deſerving an* Anathema.

Farewel.

A DETECTION

Of the ACTIONS of

MARY

QUEEN of

SCOTS.

WHereas of things judicially determined within a Dominion, to have an Account demanded by Strangers, is to ſuch as are not ſubject to Foreign Juriſdiction, both ſtrange; and alſo for the ſtrangeneſs, diſpleaſant. To us, above all other, it ought to be moſt grievous, who are driven to this Strait of Neceſſity, that whoſe Faults we deſire to cover, their Lives we are forc'd to accuſe, unleſs we our ſelves will be accounted the moſt wicked Perſons that live. But a great part of this Grief is relieved by your Equity (moſt excellent Queen) who take it no leſs diſpleaſantly to ſee your Kinſwoman, than we to ſee our Queen thus, in ſpeech of all Men, to be ſo diſhonourably reported of; who alſo are for your part no leſs deſirous to underſtand the Truth, than we for ours to avoid Slander. Therefore we will knit up the Matter as briefly as poſſibly may be; and declare it with ſuch ſhortneſs, as we may rather ſeem to have lightly run over the chief Points, than to have largely expreſſed them; beginning at the Queen's firſt Inconſtancy. For, as in making of her Marriage, her Lightneſs was very headlong and raſh, ſo

ſuddainly followed either inward Repentance, or, at leaſt, outward Tokens of Change of her Affection, without any Cauſes appearing: For whereas the King, in former time, was not only neglected, but alſo unworthily uſed; at length began open Hatred to break out againſt him, eſpecially in that Winter when he went to *Peble* with a ſmall Train, even too mean for a private Man; not being ſent thither a-Hawking, but commanded away into a Corner, far from Council, or Knowledge of publick Affairs. Neither is it neceſſary to put in Writing thoſe things, which as they were then as a Spectacle, noted of all Men's Eyes, ſo now, as a freſh Image, they remain imprinted in all Men's Hearts. And though this were the beginning of all the Evils that followed; yet, at the firſt their Practices were ſecret, ſo as not only the common People; but alſo ſuch as were right familiar, and preſent at the doing of many matters, could not underſtand throughly, what thing the Queen then chiefly intended.

At the laſt, about the Month of *April*, in the Year 1566, when the Queen was returned from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, and was lodged in the Caſtle; ſhe kept there till the time of her Travail of Child. After her Deliverance, immediately the ſecret Counſels of the intended Miſchief began to break out; the effect whereof was this, to diſpatch away the King by one means or other howſoever, and to marry with *Bothwel*. And that her ſelf ſhould not be touched with ſuſpicion of the Murder; ſhe began ſecretly, by little, and little, to ſow Seeds of Diſſention between the King and the Lords that were then at Court, ſtill more and more inflaming them, to bring the Matter to deadly Feud. And if at any time, ſhe eſpied the Suſpicions of the one againſt the other to languiſh; immediately, with new Reports to both Parties, ſhe whetted them on again to freſh Diſpleaſures, perſwading the Nobility againſt the King, and the King againſt the Nobility, that each intended others Deſtruction. And ſhe thought nothing ſo long as to ſee the Matter come to Strokes, not caring whether of them obtained the Victory; for ſhe accounted the Loſs on either ſide for her Advantage, as hoping thereby to advance forward one Degree nearer to that which ſhe intended. Finally, in ſhort time ſhe ſo filled their Hearts with mutual Jealouſies one againſt another, that there was not a Man of any Reputation in the Court; but was driven to this Neceſſity, either with Diſhonour, to yield to Rumours feigned againſt him, or to enter into Combat with the Reporters, or to withdraw him home. And though we ſhall paſs over the reſt, having deſire to haſte to the chief Point of the Matter; yet this one notable ſlanderous Practice at that time, is not to be omitted. For on a time when the King had been in talk with the Queen, till the Night was far ſpent; the Sum, in a manner of all her Communication, was, That almoſt all the Nobility had conſpired his Death, and were deviſing how to diſpatch him. After

the

the King's Departure from her, she sent forthwith for the Earl of *Murray* her Brother, who after was Regent, with this Message, That the Matter was heinous, and necessarily requiring his Presence without delay. He being awaked out of sound Sleep in great Fear, cast a Night-gown over his Shirt, and as he was half naked, ran to her in haste. To him then she used even the like Talk, as she had before to the King, informing him that the King boiled in such deadly Hatred against him; and took it so displeasantly, that he stood so highly in her Grace, that he was fully determined, so soon as any possible Opportunity served, to murder him. So, as much as in her lay, she left no Means unassay'd to set them together by the Ears, and without all doubt had done it indeed, if it had not been God's good Pleasure to deliver the innocent Persons from so perillous Treasons, and to disclose her wicked Treachery.

When this Attempt failed her, she assailed the young and unexperienced Gentleman with a new subtil Practice. She earnestly laboured with him, That while she was great with Child, he should chuse him some young Gentlewoman, whereof there was great store, whose Company he might use in the mean time. She promised him her assent and furtherance with Pardon and Leave to commit the Offence. She named to him the Earl of *Murray*'s Wife; not for that she esteemed that most noble Lady most apt for such a Villainy, but because she thought by that way to be revenged of three Enemies at once, the King, the Earl, and his Wife, and therewithal to win a Colour and Cause of Divorce, to make empty Bed-room for *Bothwel*. After she was delivered of Child, though she courteously entertain'd all other; yet as oft as Word was brought her that the King was come to see her, both she and her Company so fram'd their Speech and Countenance, as if they seemed to fear nothing more, than that the King should not perceive that they loathed him, and that his Coming and Presence was displeasant to them all. On the other side *Bothwel* alone was all in all, he alone was Governour of all her Counsels, and all her Affairs. And so desirous was the Queen to have her hearty Affection towards him understood of all Men, that if any Suit were to be made towards her, there was no way of speeding for any Man, but by *Bothwel* to obtain it.

The Queen offereth to be Bawd to her own Husband.

Not long after her Deliverance, on a Day very early, accompanied with very few that were privy of her Counsel, she went down to the Water-side, at the Place called the *New-Haven*; and while all marvelled whither she went in such haste; she suddenly entered into a Ship, there prepared for her, which Ship was provided by *Wil. Blacater*, *Edm. Blacater*, *Leonard Robertson*, and *Tho. Dickson*, *Bothwel*'s Servants, and famous Robbers, and Pirates. With this Train of Thieves, all

honeſt Men wondering at it, ſhe betook her ſelf to Sea, taking not any other with her, no not of her Gentlemen, nor neceſſary Attendants for common Honeſty. In *Aloe* Caſtle where the Ship arrived, how ſhe behaved her ſelf, I had rather every Man ſhould with himſelf imagine it, than hear me declare it. This one thing I dare affirm, that in all her Words and Doings, ſhe never kept any regard, I will not ſay of Queen-like-Majeſty, but not of Matron-like-Modeſty. The King, when he heard of this ſudden Departure of the Queen, followed after with all the haſte that he poſſibly could by Land, and there overtook her, in purpoſe, and hoping there to be in her Company, and to enjoy the mutual loving Fellowſhip of Marriage. But how lovingly he was received of her, both all they that were preſent, and ſuch as have heard them report it, can well remember. For being ſcarcely ſuffered to tarry there a few Hours, while his Men and Horſes baited, he was enforced to get him away in haſte again, on Pain of further Peril. As for her ſelf, ſhe paſtimed there certain Days, if not in Princely Magnificence; yet in more than Princely, or rather Unprincely Licentiouſneſs. There went ſhe a hunting, once at the River of *Magat*, another time at the Foreſt of *Glenartue*. There how coily; yea, how loſtily and diſdainfully ſhe behaved her ſelf to the King, What need it be rehearſed; for the thing was openly done in all Men's Sight, and continueth imprinted in all Men's Memories.

When ſhe was returned to *Edinburgh*, ſhe took not her Lodging in her own Palace; but in a private Houſe next adjoining to *John Balfours*. Thence ſhe removed into another Houſe, where the yearly Court, which they call the Exchequer, was then kept: For this Houſe was larger, and had pleaſant Gardens to it, and next to the Garden all along, a ſolitary vacant Room. But there was another Matter, which more than all theſe things allured her thither. There dwelt hard by one *David Chambers*, *Bothwel*'s Servant, whoſe Back-door adjoined to the Garden of the Queen's Lodging. The reſt, who gueſſeth not; for the Queen herſelf confeſſed the Matter, both to many other; and alſo, namely to the Regent and his Mother. But ſhe laid all the blame upon my Lady *Rereſe*, a Woman of moſt vile Unchaſtity, who had ſometime been one of *Bothwel*'s Harlots; and then was one of the chief of the Queen's Privy Chamber. By this Woman, who now in her Age had from the Gain of Whoredom, betaken her ſelf to the Craft of Baudry, was the Queen, as her ſelf ſaid, betrayed. For *Bothwel* was brought through the Garden into the Queen's Chamber, and there forced her againſt her Will, Forſooth. But how much againſt her Will, Dame *Rereſe* betrayed her, time, the Mother of Truth, hath diſcloſed. For within few days after, the Queen intending, as I ſuppoſe, to requite Force with Force, and to raviſh him again, ſent Dame *Rereſe* (who had

had her self also before made Trial of the Man's Strength) to bring him Captive unto her Highness. The Queen with *Margaret Carwood*, a Woman privy to all her Secrets, did let her down by a String over an old Wall into the next Garden. But in such Warlike Affairs, all things cannot ever be so well foreseen; but that some incommodious Chance may overthwartly happen. Behold, the String suddenly broke, and down with a great Noise fell Dame *Reresse*, a Woman very heavy, both by unwieldy Age, and massy Substance. But she, an old beaten Soldier, nothing dismayed with the Darkness of the Night, the height of the Wall, nor with the suddenness of the Fall, up she getteth, and running to *Bothwel*'s Chamber, she gat the Door open; and out of his Bed, even out of his Wives Arms, half a-sleep, half naked, she forceably brings the Man to the Queen. This Manner and Circumstances of the Deed, not only the most Part of them that then were with the Queen have confessed; but also *George Dagliſh*, *Bothwel*'s Chamberlain, a little before he was executed, plainly declared the same, which his Confession still remaineth upon Record.

In the mean time, the King being commanded out of sight, and with Injuries and Miseries banished from her, kept himself close, with a few of his Servants at *Sterline*. For alas! what should he else do? He could not creep into any piece of Grace with the Queen; nor could get so much as to maintain his daily necessary Expences, to maintain his few Servants and Horses: And finally, with Brawlings, lightly rising from every small Trifle, and by Quarrels usually picked, he was chased out of her Presence; yet, his Heart, obstinately fixed in loving her, could not be restrained; but he must needs come back to *Edinburgh*, on purpose, with all kind of serviceable Humbleness, to get some entry into her former Favour, and to recover the kind Society of Marriage. Who once again being with most dishonourable Disdain excluded, returned from whence he came, there to bewail his woful Miseries, as in a solitary Desart.

Within few days after, when the Queen determined to go to *Jedworth*, to the Assizes there to be holden, about the beginning of *October*, *Bothwel* making his Journey into *Liddesdale*. There behaving himself neither according to the Place whereto he was called, nor according to his Nobility of Race and Estimation, he was wounded by a poor Thief, that was himself ready to die, and carried into the Castle, called the *Hermitage*, with great uncertainty of his Recovery. When News hereof was brought to *Borthwick* to the Queen, she flingeth away in haste like a mad Woman by great Journeys in Post, in the sharp time of Winter, first, to *Melrose*, and then to *Jedworth*. There though she heard sure News of his Life; yet her Affection, impatient of delay, could not temper it self; but needs she must bewray her outragious Lust,

Luſt, and in an inconvenient time of the Year, deſpiſing all Diſcommodities of the Way and Weather, and all Dangers of Thieves, ſhe betook herſelf headlong to her Journey, with ſuch a Company, as no Man of any honeſt Degree would have adventured his Life, and his Goods among them. Thence ſhe returned again to *Jedworth*, and with moſt earneſt Care and Diligence, provideth and prepareth all things to remove *Bothwel* thither. When he was once brought thither, their Company and familiar Haunt together, was ſuch as was ſmally agreeing with both their Honours. There, whether it were by their Nightly and daily Travels, diſhonourable to themſelves, and infamous among the People; or by ſome ſecret Providence of God, the Queen fell into ſuch a ſore and dangerous Sickneſs, that ſcarcely there remained any Hope of her Life.

When the King heard thereof, he haſted in Poſt to *Jedworth*, to viſit the Queen, to comfort her in her Weakneſs, and by all the gentle Services that he poſſibly could, to declare his Affection and hearty Deſire to do her Pleaſure. So far was it off, that his Lodging and things neceſſary, were provided for him againſt his coming (as were wont to be for mean Perſons) that he found not any one Token towards him of a Friendly Mind. But this was a Point of moſt barbarous Inhumanity uſed againſt him, that the Nobility, and all the Officers of the Court that were preſent, were ſpecially forbidden to do him any Reverence at all at his coming, nor to yield him their Lodging, nor to harbour him ſo much as for one Night. And whereas the Queen ſuſpected that the Earl of *Murray*, which afterward was Regent, would ſhew him Courteſie, ſhe practiſed with his Wife to go home in haſte, and feign her ſelf ſick, and keep her Bed, that at leaſt by this Colour, under Pretence of her Sickneſs, the King might be ſhut out of Doors. Being thus denied all Duties of civil Kindneſs, the next Day with great Grief of Heart, he returned to his old ſolitary Corner. In the mean time, while the King in that want of all things, and forſaken of all Friends, ſcarce with begging findeth Room in a Cottage; *Bothwel*, out of the Houſe where he was lodged before, as it were in Triumph over the King, was gloriouſly removed in ſight of the People into the Queen's own Lodging, and there laid in a lower Parlour, directly under the Chamber where the Queen her ſelf lay ſick. There, while they both were yet feeble and unhealed, ſhe of her Diſeaſe, and he of his Wound, the Queen being very weak of her Body, yet viſited him daily. And when they were both a little recovered, and their Strengths not yet fully ſetled, they returned to their old Paſtime again, and that ſo openly, as they ſeemed to fear nothing more, than leſt their Wickedneſs ſhould be unknown.

About the fifth day of *November*, being removed from *Jedworth*, to a Town called *Calco*; there she received Letters from the King, which when she had read in presence of the Regent, the Earl of *Huntley*, and the Secretary; she cast a pitious look, and miserably tormented her self, as if she would have immediately fallen down again into her former sickness; and she plainly and expressly protested, That unless she might by some means or other be dispatched of the King, she should never have one good day: And if by no other way she could attain it, rather than she would abide to live in such sorrow, she would slay her self.

Within few days after, while in her return through *Marchland* she lay at *Coldingham*, Dame *Reresse* passed through the Watch, and was known, and let go. What Company she had, and whither she went at that time of the night, it was not unknown to the Queen. From thence, about the end of *November*, she came to *Cragmillar*, a Castle about two miles from *Edinburgh*; there, in presence of the Earl of *Murray* (who afterwards was Regent, and now is himself also slain) and of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, and the Secretary, she fell into her said former Discourse; and also added the most commodious way, as she thought, how it might be brought to pass, that is to sue a Divorce against the King: And she doubted not but that it might be easily obtained, forasmuch as they were the one to the other in such degree of Consanguinity, as by the Popes Law might not marry together, especially (which was ease for her to do) the Bull being conveyed away, whereby the same Law was dispensed with. Here when one had cast a doubt, That if she should go that way to work, their Son should be made a Bastard, being born out of lawful Wedlock, especialy sith neither of his Parents were ignorant of the causes whereby the Marriage should be void. When she had tossed this Answer a while in her mind, and knew that he said truth, and that she durst not as yet disclose her purpose to make away her Son, she gave over that device of Divorce; and yet from that day forward, she never ceased to pursue her intention of murdering the King, as may easily be perceived by that which followed. *Cousin Germans.*

The King being returned from *Sterline* to *Cragmillar*, when he hoped to have found her more gentle toward him, and her displeasure by process of time somewhat appeased, he so found no token of change of her affection, that he was not allowed any thing for his daily sustenance, unless he kept him still at *Sterline*; which thing exceedingly encreased the Peoples suspicion, otherwise of it self already enough inclined to that Judgment, of the unchaste Company of the Queen with *Bothwel*.

About the beginning of *December*, when there were Ambassadours come out of *France* and *England*, to the Christening of the King that now is; that *Bothwel* might be seen gorgeously arrayed among the Nobility, she her self laid out the Money to buy him Apparel, and some she bought

bought her self of the Merchants for him; and she so applied her self with such diligence in overseeing the making thereof, as if she had been, I will not say his Wife, but even his Servant. In the mean time, her lawful Husband at the Christning of his own Child, not only wanted all her Maintenance for his necessary Expences, but also was commanded not once to come in the Ambassadour's sight; his ordinary Servants were removed from him; the Nobility were enjoined not once to attend on him, nor to do him Honour, nor in a manner to know him; the foreign Ambassadours were warned not to talk with him, whenas the most part of the day they were in the Castle where he was.

The young Gentleman, thus contemptuously and unkindly used, fell in such despair, that he departed from *Sterline* and went to *Glascow* to his Father: At his departure, the Queen still pursued him with her wonted hatred, all his Silver Plate, wherewith he was served from his Marriage till that day, she took it away every whit, and appointed Pewter in the stead thereof: But let this serve only to prove her contempt of him; the rest that followed are evident Arguments of outrageous Cruelty and unappeasable Hatred. Before he had passed a mile from *Sterline*, all the parts of his Body were taken with such a sore ach, as it might easily appear, that the same proceeded not of the force of any sickness, but by plain treachery: The tokens of which treachery, certain black pimples, so soon as he was come to *Glascow*, brake out over his whole Body, with so great ach and such pain throughout all his Limbs, that he linger'd out his life with very small hope of escape; and yet all this while, the Queen would not suffer so much as a Physician once to come at him.

After the Ceremonies of the Christening were ended, she practised with her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, that when he should go to conduct the Earl of *Bedford*, the Queen of *England*'s Ambassadour, to St. *Andrews*, he should require *Bothwel* also to bear him Company, who indeed freely promised so to do; howbeit, both he and the Queen, the Deviser of that Dissimulation, thought nothing less, as the success shewed: For so soon as the King was gone to *Glascow*, and the rest towards St. *Andrews*, she, with her *Bothwel*, got her to *Drumen*, and from thence to *Tylebarn*: In which Houses, they so passed the time about eight days, in every corner, and in familiar haunting together, as all (saving themselves alone, that had thrown away all shame) were highly offended with their contempt and vile regard of publick Fame, seeing them now not once to seek to cover their filthy Wickedness.

When about the beginning of *January*, they were returned to *Sterline*, she began to find fault with the House wherein her Son was nursed, as incommodious, because it stood in a cold and moist place, dangerous for bringing the Child to a Rheum: But it shall easily appear, that this was done for other purpose, forasmuch as all these Faults that she pretended,

tended, were not in that Houſe; but were, indeed, in the other Houſe, to which the Child was removed; being ſet in a low place, being a very Marſh. The Child being ſcarcely above ſix Months old, in the deep of a ſharp Winter, was conveyed to *Edinburgh*: There, becauſe the firſt Attempt prevailed not, and the force of the Poiſon was overcome by ſtrength of Nature; yet, that, at length, ſhe might bring forth that wherewith ſhe had ſo long travailed, ſhe entreth into new Devices for the Murther of the King.

Her ſelf goeth to *Glaſcow*; ſhe pretendeth the Cauſe of her Journey to be, to ſee the King alive, whoſe Death ſhe had continually gaped for the whole Month before: But what was, indeed, the true Cauſe of that Journey, each Man may plainly perceive by her Letters to *Bothwel*. Being now out of Care of her Son, whom ſhe had in her own Ward, bending her ſelf to the Slaughter of her Husband, to *Glaſcow* ſhe goeth, accompanied with the *Hamiltons*, and other the King's natural Enemies.

Bothwel (as it was agreed on between them before) provideth all things ready, that were needful to accompliſh that heinous Act: Firſt of all, an Houſe not commodious for a ſick Man, nor comely for a King; for it was both torn and ruinous, and had ſtood empty, without any Dweller, for divers Years before; in a place of ſmall Reſort, between the old fallen Walls of two Churches, near a few Alms-houſes for poor Beggars. And that no commodious Means for committing that Miſchief might be wanting, there was a Poſtern-door in the Town-wall, hard by the Houſe, whereby they eaſily might paſs away into the Fields. In chuſing of the place, ſhe would needs have it thought, that they had reſpect to the wholſomneſs thereof: And to avoid Suſpicion, that this was a feigned Pretence, her ſelf, the two Nights next before the Day of the Murther, lay there, in a lower Room, under the King's Chamber. And as ſhe did curiouſly put off the Shews of Suſpicion from her ſelf, ſo the Execution of the Slaughter ſhe was content to have committed to others.

About three Days before the King was ſlain, ſhe practiſed to ſet her Brother *Robert* and him at deadly Enmity; making account, that it ſhould be Gain to her, which ſoever of them both had periſhed. For Matter to ground their Diſſention, ſhe made Rehearſal of the Speech that the King had had with her concerning her Brother. And when they both ſo grew in Talk, as the one ſeemed to charge the other with the Lye, at laſt they were, in a manner, come from Words, to Blows. But while they were both laying their Hands on their Weapons, the Queen, feigning as though ſhe had been marvellouſly afraid of that which ſhe ſo earneſtly deſired, calleth the Earl of *Murray*, her other Brother, to the parting; to this intent, that ſhe might either preſently bring him in danger to be ſlain himſelf, or, in time to come, to bear the

Blame of ſuch Miſchief as then might have happened. When this Way the Succeſs fell not out as ſhe deſired, ſhe deviſed a new Way to tranſ-ferr the Suſpicion from her ſelf. While the Earl of *Murray* did willingly keep himſelf from the Court, and had reaſonable Excuſe for his Abſence, for that his Wife being near her Time, was, beſides that, always very ſick, at the ſame time there was an Ambaſſador come from the Duke of *Savoy*. This the Queen took for a convenient Colour to ſend for her Brother: But the true Cauſe of her ſending for him was, that ſhe had a deſire to throw the Suſpicion of the King's Murther upon him, and upon the Earl *Moreton*; and therewithal alſo, at once, to procure the Deſtruction of thoſe two, being Men acceptable to the Peril, and likewiſe Adverſaries to her Practice, who intended to ſet up a Tyrannical Government. But God's good Clemency, that had oft before delivered the Earl of *Murray* from many Treaſons of his Enemies, did then alſo manifeſtly ſuccour him; for upon the *Sunday*, which was the 9th Day of *February*, when he was going to Church, to hear a Sermon, a Letter was brought him, that his Wife was delivered before her Time, and in very ſmall hope of Life. When he, being diſmayed at this ſuddain News, deſired leave of the Queen to depart, ſhe anſwered, That if the Cauſe were ſo, it were a ſuperfluous Journey for him to go to her, being not able to do her any Good in her Sickneſs. But he being ſtill the more importunate, ſhe prayed him, That he would yet tarry but that one Night, and take his Journey the next Day to his Wife. But the Mercy of God now, as at many other times, did deliver that innocent Gentleman from the preſent Peril, and alſo took away the Occaſion of Slander againſt him for the time to come. Howbeit, for all this, though there were no Cauſe of Suſpicion, yet he eſcaped not free from Slander; for *Huntley* and *Bothwel*, though they could not juſtly charge him, yet laboured by infamous Libels, which they ſpread abroad, to diſtain him with the moſt foul Spot of that ſhameful Act. And whereas the Murther was committed after Mid-Night, they had, before Day light, cauſed (by ſpecial fore-appointed Meſſengers) Rumours to be ſpread in *England*, that the Earls of *Murray* and *Moreton* were Actors of that Slaughter. But that Rumour, ſo ſoon as the Light of the Truth once brake forth, ſuddainly vaniſhed away, as other Falſhoods are commonly wont to do.

When all things were ready prepared for performing this cruel Fact, and yet all Occaſions cut off to divert the Blame thereof, the Partners of the Conſpiracy, fearing leſt long Delay ſhould either bring ſome Impement to their Purpoſe, or diſcloſe their Counſels, determined to diſpatch it in all haſte. The Queen therefore, for Manners ſake, after Supper, goeth up to the King's Lodging: There, being determined to ſhew him all the Tokens of reconciled Good Will, ſhe ſpent certain

Hours

Hours in his Company, with Countenance and Talk much more familiar than ſhe had uſed in ſix or ſeven Months before. At the Coming in of *Paris*, ſhe broke off her Talk, and prepared to depart. This *Paris* was a young Man, born in *France*, and had lived certain Years in the Houſes of *Bothwel* and *Seton*, and afterward with the Queen. Whereas the other Keys of that Lodging were in cuſtody of the King's Servants, *Paris*, by feigning certain fond and ſlender Cauſes, had in keeping the Keys which *Bothwel* kept back, of the Back-Gate, and the Poſtern. He was in ſpecial Truſt with *Bothwel* and the Queen, touching their ſecret Affairs. His Coming (as it was before agreed among them) was a Watch-word, that all was ready for the Matter. As ſoon as the Queen ſaw him, ſhe roſe up immediately; and feigning another Cauſe to depart, ſhe ſaid, *Alas! I have much offended toward* Sebaſtian *this Day, that I appeared not in a Mask at his Marriage.* This *Sebaſtian* was an *Arvernois*, a Man in great Favour with the Queen, for his Cunning in Muſick, and his merry Jeſting, and was married the ſame Day. The King thus left, in a manner alone, in a deſolate place, the Queen departeth, accompanied with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley* and *Caſſiles*, that attended upon her. After that ſhe was come into her Chamber, after Midnight, ſhe was in long Talk with *Bothwel*, none being preſent but the Captain of her Guard. And when he alſo withdrew himſelf, *Bothwel* was there left alone, without other Company; and ſhortly after, retired into his own Chamber. He changed his Apparel, becauſe he would be unknown of ſuch as met him; and put on a looſe Cloak, ſuch as the *Swartrytters* wear; and ſo went forward, through the Watch, to execute his intended traiterous Fact. The whole Order of the doing thereof may be eaſily underſtood by their Confeſſions, which were put to death for it.

Bothwel, after the Deed was ended that he went about, returned; and, as if he had been ignorant of all that was done, he got him to bed. The Queen in the mean time, in great Expectation of the Succeſs, how finely ſhe played her part (as ſhe thought) it is marvel to tell; for ſhe not once ſtirred at the Noiſe of the Fall of the Houſe, which ſhook the whole Town; nor at the fearful Out-cries that followed, and confuſed Cries of the People (for I think there happened to her not any new thing unlooked for) till *Bothwel*, feigning himſelf afraid, roſe again out of his Bed, and came to her, with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley* and *Athole*; and with the Wives of the Earls of *Athole* and *Murray*, and with the Secretary. There, while the monſtrous Chance was in telling, while every one wondered at the thing, that the King's Lodging was, even from the very Foundation, blown up into the Air, and the King himſelf ſlain. In this Amazedneſs, and confuſed Fear of all ſorts of Perſons, only that ſame Heroical Heart of the Queen maintained it

ſelf ſo far from caſting her ſelf down into baſe Lamentations and Tears, unbeſeeming the Royal Name, Blood and Eſtate, that ſhe matched, or rather far ſurmounted all Credit of the Conſtancy of any in former times. This alſo proceeded of the ſame Nobility of Courage, that ſhe ſet out the greater part of them that were about her, to enquire out the manner of the doing; and commanded the Soldiers that watched, to follow; and ſhe her ſelf ſetled her ſelf to reſt, with a Countenance ſo quiet, and Mind ſo untroubled, that ſhe ſweetly ſlept till the next Day at Noon. But leſt ſhe ſhould appear void of all Naturalneſs at the Death of her Husband, by little and little, at length ſhe kept her cloſe, and proclaimed a Mourning, not long to endure.

The Common People, not certainly knowing whether ſhe laughed or lamented, were divided into ſundry Imaginations, ſith it was perillous dealing with the diſguiſing of the Court; either in knowing it, to ſeem to mock it; or in not cunningly diſſembling, to ſeem to know it. While ſome talked of one ſort, ſome of another, in the mean time, of any Enquiry to be had of the Murther, there was no mention made at all. At length, the Day following, in the After-noon, when both Shame and Fear conſtrained them thereto, *Bothwel*, the principal Doer of the vile Act, with certain others that were privy to the ſame, aſſembled together, with the Earl of *Argyle*, for that he is, by Inheritance, the Juſtice to deal with Crimes puniſhable by Death. Firſt, As though they had been utterly ignorant of all that ever was done, they begin to wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, ſuch as never was heard of, and incredible. Then they begin a little to be buſie about their Enquiry; they ſent for a few poor, ſilly Women, that dwelt thereabout; which poor Souls, ſtanding in doubt, whether it were better for them to tell, or hold their peace, though they daintily tempered their Speech, yet, when they had blabbed out ſomewhat more than the Judges looked for, they were diſmiſſed again, as Fools that had but indiſcreetly prated; for their Teſtimonies, though they touched ſome Folks ſhrewdly, yet they were ſuch as they might eaſily ſet light by. Then were called and examined the King's Servants, that were of his Houſhold, ſuch as were left undeſtroyed by that cruel Chance: They denied that they had the Keys in keeping. Being examined who had them, they ſaid, The Queen. So the Enquiry (for Manners ſake) was adjourned, but, indeed ſuppreſſed, for fear, leſt if they proceeded further, the Secrets of the Court might happen to be diſcloſed. Yet, leſt the Matter ſhould ſeem not to be regarded, out goeth a Proclamation, with Rewards promiſed to him that could give Information of it. But who durſt accuſe the Queen? Or (which was, in a manner, more perillous) Who durſt detect *Bothwel* of ſuch an horrible Offence; eſpecially, when he himſelf was both Doer, Judge, Enquirer and Examiner? Yet this Fear, which

ſtopped

ſtopped the Mouth of every Man in particular, could not reſtrain the whole Multitude in general; for both by Books ſet out, and by Pictures, and by Cries in the dark Night, it was ſo handled, that the Doers of that miſchievous Fact might eaſily underſtand, that thoſe Secrets of theirs were come abroad. And when every Man was now out of doubt, who did the Murther, and who gave furtherance unto it, the more that they laboured to keep their own Names undiſcloſed, ſo much the more the People's Grudge (being reſtrained) brake out the more openly. Though they took upon them, as if they regarded not theſe things, yet ſometimes the Rumours ſo inwardly pricked them to the quick, that they could by no means hide their Anger. Therefore, diſcontinuing their ſearching for the King's Death, they begin a new Enquiry, far more earneſt, againſt the Authors of Books, and the Slanders of *Bothwel*, as they themſelves termed them. Theſe Examinations were ſo rigorouſly put in Execution, as neither Money nor Labour of Men nor Horſes, was ſpared about it. All the Painters were called together; all that earned their Living by Writing, were aſſembled, to judge of the Pictures and Books that had been ſet out. And if any Painter had not, of his own Accord confeſſed, that it was he of whoſe Work they enquired, another that was not guilty thereof, but touched a little with a light Suſpicion, had ſuffered for it. There was publiſhed a Proclamation agreeable with the manner of the Inquiſition, wherein it was made Death, not only to ſet out any ſuch Matter; but alſo to read it, being ſet out by another. But theſe Perſons, that with threatning of Death practiſed to ſtop the Speech of the People; yet not ſatisfied with the moſt cruel Murder of the King, ceaſed not their Hatred againſt him when he was dead. All his Goods, Armour, Horſes, Apparel, and other Furniture of his Houſe, the Queen divided, ſome to them that ſlew him, and ſome to his Father's ancient deadly Foes, as if they had, upon Attainder, come to her by Forfeiture, and his Father's Tenants, as though they had been alſo Part of her conquered Booty, ſhe ſo ſcraped, till ſhe brought them in a manner to extream Beggary.

But this was a ſtrange Example of Cruelty, and ſuch as never was heard of before, that as ſhe had ſatisfied her Heart with his Slaughter; ſo ſhe would needs feed her Eyes with the Sight of his Body ſlain. For ſhe long beheld, not only without Grief, but alſo with greedy Eyes, his dead Corps, the goodlieſt Corps of any Gentleman that ever lived in this Age And then ſuddenly, without any Funeral Honour, in the Night time, by common Carriers of dead Bodies, upon a vile Bier, ſhe cauſed him to be buried hard by *David Rizo*. When theſe doings were known abroad, and that the Indignation of the People had overcome the Threatnings of Penalties, and the Frankneſs of Sorrow ſurmounted Fear, by little and little ſhe began to ſet her Face, and with counterfeiting of Mourning,

Mourning, ſhe laboured to appeaſe the Hearts of the grudging People. For where the ancient manner hath been for Queens, after the Death of their Husbands, by the ſpace of forty Days, not only to forbear the Company of Men; but alſo from looking on the open Light, ſhe attempted a diſguiſed manner of Mourning. But the Mirth of Heart far paſſing the feigned Sorrow, ſhe ſhut the Doors indeed; but ſhe ſet open the Windows, and within four days ſhe threw away her wailing Weed, and began to behold both Sun and open Sky again. But this one thing fell very overthwartly. For when *Henry Killegrew* was come from the Queen of *England* to comfort her, as the manner is, this Gentleman Strangers hap was to marr the Play, and unvizor all the diſguiſing. For when he was, by the Queen's Commandment come to the Court, though he being an old Courtier, and a good diſcreet Gentleman, did nothing haſtily; yet he came in ſo unſeaſonably, e'er the Stage was prepared and furniſhed, that he found the Windows open, the Candles not yet lighted, and all the Proviſion for the Play out of Order. When of the forty Days that are appointed for the Mourning, ſcarce twelve were yet fully paſt, and the counterfeiting would not frame half handſomly, and to diſcloſe her true Affections ſo ſoon, ſhe was ſomewhat aſhamed; at length taking Heart of Grace unto her, and neglecting ſuch Trifles, ſhe cometh to her own Biaſs, and openly ſheweth her own natural Conditions. She poſteth to *Seton*'s Houſe, with a very few, and thoſe not all of the ſaddeſt Company. There *Bothwel*, though it ſeemed, that for the great Favour he then had in Court, and for the Nobility of his Birth, and other reſpects of Honour, he ſhould have been, next after the Queen, moſt honourably received, yet was lodged in a Chamber hard by the Kitchin. Howbeit the ſame was a Place not altogether unfit to aſſwage their Sorrows, for it was directly under the Queen's Chamber: And if any ſudden qualm of Grief ſhould have happened to come over her Heart, there was a pair of Stairs, though ſomewhat narrow, yet wide enough for *Bothwel* to get up to comfort her.

In the mean time, after the Rumour hereof was ſpread into *France*, *Mounſieur de Croc*, who had often before been Ambaſſador in *Scotland*, came in ſuddenly upon them, God wot full unſeaſonably. By his Advice ſhe returned to *Edinburgh*, out of that Den which even as far as *France* was infamous. But in *Seton's* Houſe were ſo many commodious Opportunities for her Purpoſe, that howſoever her good Name were thereby impaired, needs ſhe muſt go thither again. There were Counſels holden of the great Affairs of the Realm. The end of the Conſultation was, that *Bothwel* ſhould be arraigned of the Murder, and acquitted by Judges thereto choſen for the Purpoſe, and conſtrained. It was concluded, That the meaner ſort of the Judges might with Favour and fair Promiſes be led, and the reſt of the greater and graver ſort (whom for

for Fashions Sake they were driven to call to the Matter) might be drawn with Fear to acquit him. For beside Libels thereof commonly thrown abroad; the King's Father the Earl of *Lenox* did openly accuse Author of the Murder.

The Assembly of the States in Parliament was at hand, which was to be holden the thirteenth of *April*, before which Day they would needs have the Arraignment dispatched. That great haste was the Cause, why in that Proceeding and Trial nothing has been done according to the Form of Law, nothing in Order, nothing after the ancient Usage. There ought to have been publick Summons of the Accusers, the next of the Kin, the Wife, the Father, and the Son, either to be present themselves, or to send their Proctors. The Law also gave them time of forty Days. But here the Father was commanded to come within thirteen Days, and that without any Assembly of his Friends, with his own Houshold Retinue only, which by Reason of his great Poverty, was now brought to a few: While in the mean time, *Bothwel* with great Bands of Men, daily mustered about the Town. And because he verily believed that in so assured Peril, no Man would take upon him to be his Accuser, he grew to such a Negligence, and such Contempt of Law and judicial Proceedings, that the Indictment was framed of a Murder supposed to be done the ninth Day of *February*, when indeed the King was slain the tenth Day. In chusing and refusing of the Judges, the like Severity was used; for the Murderers themselves made the Choice of the Judges, when there was no Man to take Exception against them. The Earl of *Cassiles*, willing rather to pay his Amercement, as the manner is, than to be a Judge in the Matter, when he had stood in it a while, and would not appear at the Queen's Request and Menacing; yea, though she sent her Ring for Credit both of her earnest Prayer and Threatning; at length, constrained with Fear of Exile and Punishment, he yielded. There sate the Judges, not chosen to judge, but picked out to acquit: The Cause proceeded without any Adversary. A Trial in a Matter of Life and Death, when there was never an Accuser, but suborned by the Party accused; so as a Man might well think it not the Trial of a Cause in a Court, but the playing of an Enterlude upon a Stage.

In all this fearlesness of all things, yet behold, I pray you, of what force is the Testimony of Conscience on either side: Suddenly, unlooked for, there starteth up a young Man of the Earl of *Lenox*'s House, in whom the Respect of Duty vanquished the Fear of Danger: This young Man made an open Protestation, That the same Assembly of Judges was not lawful, because in their Proceeding, there was nothing done according to Law nor Order. At this Saying, the Judges were all stricken in such a fear, that they all, by and by, with one accord,

made

made Proteſtation, with proviſo, That it ſhould not hereafter be prejudicial to them, in that they acquitted a Priſoner whom no Man accuſed, and that they had acquitted him of a Murder alledged to be committed the Ninth day of *February*, when the King was ſlain the Tenth day. This is that ſame noble Trial and Judgment, whereby *Bothwel* was not cleanſed of the Crime, but as it were waſhed with Sowters Blacking, and ſo more comely prepared to go a Wooing to wed the Queen, and ſo to become a Husband to her greater ſhame, than when he was before an Adulterer. To make up yet the full perfection and encreaſe of this jolly Acquittal, there was ſet up a Writing in the moſt notorious Place of the Court, that though *Bothwel* had by juſt Trial and Judgment been lawfully cleared and acquitted of the Murder, whereof he had been falſly accuſed, yet for more manifeſt declaration of his Innocency to the whole World, he was ready to try it in Combat, if any Man of good Fame, and a Gentleman born, would charge him with the Murder of the King.

The next day after, there was one that ſet up a Bill in open place, and offered to accept the Combat, ſo that there might for the Battle be ſuch a place appointed, wherein the party might ſafely without fear diſcloſe his Name.

While Matters and Mens Affections were in this ſtir, the Parliament aſſembled; there, after they had for eight days together, in manner done nothing but treated of reverſing the Judgment, whereby the Earl of *Huntley*'s Father had been attainted of Treaſon, and for reſtoring the Son to his Father's Poſſeſſions and Honours: There were alſo certain plauſible things granted to pleaſe the People, and eſpecially for the Church; namely, the repealing of certain Laws of Popiſh Tyranny, made for puniſhing of ſuch as durſt once mutter againſt the Decrees of the See of *Rome*. Though theſe things were acceptable among the Commonalty, yet there remained one thing which no leſs vexed the Queen, than offended the People; that is to ſay, her companying with *Bothwel*, not altogether ſo openly as ſhe would fain have had it; and yet not ſo ſecretly, but that the People perceived it; for that all Mens eyes were gazing upon them. For whereas *Bothwel* had a Wife of his own, and to tarry for a Divorce, was thought an overlong delay; and in the mean time, the Queen could neither openly avow to have him, nor ſecretly enjoy him, and yet in no wiſe could be without him; ſome ſhift, though not an honeſt one, yet a ſhift, forſooth, muſt be deviſed: And when they could not think upon a better, it ſeemed to them a marvellous fine invention, god wot, that *Bothwel* ſhould raviſh and take away the Queen by force, and ſo ſave her Honour: So within a few days after, as the Queen was returning from *Sterline*, *Bothwel* forceably took her by the way, and carried her to *Dunbar*; whether with her Will, or

againſt

againſt her Will, every Man may eaſily perceive by her own Letters, that ſhe wrote to him by the way, as ſhe was in her Journey. But howſoever it were, that the wrong of the Raviſhment might be defaced with honeſt colour of Marriage, *Bothwel*'s Wife was compelled in two Courts to ſue a Divorce againſt her Husband.

Before Judges delegate, appointed by the Queen's Authority to have Juriſdiction in ſuch Cauſes, the Wife accuſeth the Husband of Adultery, which with them was a juſt cauſe of Divorce, before Popiſh Judges, who indeed by Law were forbidden, yet by ſpecial Diſpenſation of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, were for the hearing of this Cauſe only permitted; *Bothwel* was accuſed, that before his Marriage with his Wife, he had committed Fornication with his Wife's near Kinſwoman; howbeit, all this while they kept cloſe the Pope's Bull, by which the ſame offence was diſpenſed with. The Divorce was poſted forward without any ſlackneſs either in the Witneſſes, or in the Judges: Within the ſpace of ten days, the matter was taken in hand, began, and intended, joined unto, tried, and judged before both the Companies of Judges: When the Sentence of Divorce was given, and ſent to *Dunbar*, *Bothwel* by and by aſſembled together from all parts, all his Friends, his Servants, and Retainers, to convey to *Edinburgh* the Queen, who would then needs take upon her to be a Priſoner.

When that they were thus gathered together, the moſt part of them in Armour, by the way, as they were conducting the Queen, many of them were ſuddenly ſtricken in ſome fear, leſt in time to come, they might be charged for holding the Queen as Priſoner; and although there were no other evidence, yet this one thing would be proof enough againſt them, That in time of Peace they were found about her. While they were in this doubt, in the midſt of their Journey, they all threw away their Launces, and in more peaceable array, at leaſt in ſhew, they conveyed her to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which Caſtle was alſo at that time at *Bothwel*'s Commandment; there ſhe tarried with *Bothwel*, while the Banes were publiſhing. Then ſhe came down out of the Caſtle into the Town, to the common Aſſembly of the Judges, and there pronounced her ſelf to be free at her own liberty: And ſo at length, within eight days, ſhe finiſhed that unmatrimonial Matrimony, all good Men ſo far deteſting, or at leaſt grudgingly fore-judging the unlucky end thereof; that Monſieur *de Croc*, the *French* King's Ambaſſadour, a Man very well affectioned to the Queen, one of the Faction of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and ſojourning very near to the place, though he were earneſtly required, yet he thought he could not with his Honour be preſent at the Feaſt.

Theſe things were done about the Twenty fifth of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1567. The Twenty fifth day of *June* following, *Bothwel* being either diſmaid with a guilty Conſcience of the vile Fact, or ſent away

by the Queen, ſhe came her ſelf to the Lords of the Realm, who earneſtly required the publick King-Murderer to be brought forth to due execution. What hath been done ſince, pertaineth not much to this preſent matter; and though my Speech have been, perhaps, longer than you looked for, yet I plainly perceive in my ſelf, that while I ſeek to make an end of my Tale, I have omitted, and many things for haſte I have but lightly touched, and nothing have I, according to the heinouſneſs of the Offence, fully expreſſed.

An Oration, *with a* Declaration *of the Evidence againſt* MARY *the* Scottiſh *Queen; wherein is by neceſſary* Arguments *plainly proved, That ſhe was guilty and privy of the ſaid* Murder.

SEeing theſe things are by Writings and Witneſſes ſo probable, and ſtick ſo faſt imprinted in the knowledge of all the People, that ſuch as would have them moſt hidden, cannot deny them: What place is here left for cunning, or what need can be of diligence, to prove or reprove a thing ſo plain and evident? For all things are ſo clear, ſo manifeſt, and ſo mutually knit together, each part to ſtrengthen other, that there is named of foreign Probations; and all things ſo fully witneſſed, that there is no neceſſity of other Arguments: For if any will ask me, as in other matters is uſed to be asked, the Cauſes of ſo foul a fact, I might alſo likewiſe ask of him, ſith the Time, the Place, the Deed, and the Author is ſufficiently known, to what purpoſe is it to ſtand upon ſearching the Cauſes, or to enquire by what Means it was atchieved? Again, when there be extent ſo many Cauſes of Hatred, and ſo many Tokens thereof, which do offer themſelves to knowledge, as may well be able to bring even things uncertain to be believed, ſurely ſo far-fetch'd an explication of the Act committed, may right well ſeem ſuperfluous. Nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as ſo great is the Impudence of the vile Offenders in denying, and ſo confident the Boldneſs of impudent Perſons in lying, let us aſſay to ſee with what Weapons

Weapons Truth is able to defend Innocency, againſt thoſe wicked Monſters. If then they demand the cauſe of ſo heinous a Deed, I anſwer, It was unappeaſable Hatred. I demand of them again, If they can deny that ſuch Hatred was, or that the ſame Hatred was ſo great, as without Blood could not be ſatisfied? If they deny that ſuch Hatred was, then let them anſwer me, Why ſhe, a young Woman, Rich, Noble, and finally a Queen, thruſt away from her, in a manner, the young Gentleman into exile, he being beautiful, near of her kin, of the Blood Royal, and (that which is greateſt) entirely loving her, in the deep of ſharp Winter, into places neither fruitful of things neceſſary, nor repleniſhed with Inhabitants, and commonly perillous being haunted with Thieves? Why ſent ſhe him away into deſart and craggy Mountains, without proviſion, into open perils, and in a manner without any Company? What could ſhe more have done, if ſhe had moſt deadly hated him, and covenanted to have him diſpatched? But I trow ſhe feared no ſuch thing; but that voidneſs of Fear, I conſtrue to be a note of moſt obſtinate Hatred, eſpecially ſith ſhe both knew the places, and was not ignorant of the dangers. That Husband therefore, to whom ſhe was but lately married, againſt the Liking of her Subjects, againſt the Will of their Friends on both ſides, without whom ſhe could not endure, whom ſhe ſcarcely durſt ſuffer out of her ſight, him, I ſay, ſhe thruſteth forth to uncertain death, and moſt certain perils.

Will ye ask of me the Cauſes of the change of her Affection? What if I ſay, I knew them not? It ſufficeth for my purpoſe to prove that ſhe hated him. What if I ask again, why ſhe ſo extreamly loved the young Man whom ſhe never ſaw before? why ſhe ſo haſtily married him, and ſo unmeaſurable honoured him? Such are the natures of ſome Women, eſpecially ſuch as cannot brook the Greatneſs of their own good Fortune: They have vehement Affections both ways; they love with exceſs, and hate without meaſure; and to what ſide ſoever they bend, they are not governed by adviſed Reaſon, but carried by violent Motion. I could, out of the Monuments of Antiquity, rehearſe innumerable Examples, but of her ſelf, I had rather believe her ſelf.

Call to mind that part of her Letters to *Bothwel*, wherein ſhe maketh her ſelf *Medea*, that is, a Woman that neither in love nor hatred can keep any mean. I could alſo alledge other Cauſes of her hatred, although indeed not reaſonable Cauſes, yet ſuch as are able to ſhove forward, and to puſh headlong an outrageous Heart, which is not able to govern it ſelf.

But herein I will forbear: And if her ſelf will ſuffer me, howſoever ſhe hath deſerved of her Subjects, yet ſo much as the common Cauſe

will permit, I will ſpare her Honour; yea, I will ſpare it more than the Cauſe will allow me.

Therefore I omit her other Cauſes of Hatred, and return to this, that ſhe hated, and not meanly hated him.

Will you ſee alſo another Proof of her Hatred? The tender Wife, forſooth, ſo loving and fond of him, when ſhe could not do him the Duty of a Wife, offereth to do him the Service of a Bawd: She made choice of her own Brother's Wife, to put to him in her place.

What ſhall we think to be the Cauſe of this ſo ſuddain Change? She that, of late, gapingly ſought for every ſmall Breath of Suſpicion againſt her Husband; and where true Cauſes were not to be found, ſhe invented ſuch as were manifeſtly falſe: And this ſhe curiouſly did, not when ſhe loved him, but when ſhe had begun to hate him: And while ſhe was fiſhing for Occaſions to be divorced from him, even ſhe, I ſay, of her own accord, offereth him a Lover, declareth her own Contentation therewith, and promiſeth her Furtherance.

What can we imagine to be the Cauſe hereof? Was it to pleaſe her Husband? No, for ſhe hated him: And although ſhe loved him, yet ſuch manner of doing, in a Woman, is uncredible. Was it, that he, knowing himſelf likewiſe guilty of Adultery on his part, might the more willingly bear with a Partner in uſe of his Wife? No, for he bare with all per-force, againſt his Will. Was it to find Cauſe of Divorce, and ſo to drive him to leave his Bed empty for *Bothwel*? Yea, that was it, indeed, that ſhe ſought for; but yet not that alone, for in this Woman you muſt imagine no ſingle Miſchief. She hated the Earl *Murray*'s Wife, even with ſuch Hatred as all unhoneſt Perſons hate the honeſt. The differences of their two Fames much vexed her; and therewithal alſo ſhe coveted to ſet the good Lady's Husband and the King together by the Ears, and ſo rid her ſelf of two Troubles at once.

Thus you ſee how many, and how great things ſhe practiſed, to diſpatch with one Labour: Her Paramour's Enemy, the Bridler of her Licentiouſneſs, and her own hated Husband, ſhe hopeth to rid all at once; while by ſuch ſundry ſorts of wicked Doings, ſhe maketh haſte to her moſt wicked Wedding.

To what end tended that fearful haſty Calling for the Earl *Murray*, at Mid-night? Could ſhe not tarry till Day-light? What was the Occaſion of ſo ſuddain Fear? The good Woman, God wot, careful for the Concord of the Nobility, dearly loving her Brother, and moſt dearly loving her Husband, was afraid, forſooth, leſt her Brother ſhould in the Night have been aſſaulted by the King, whom ſhe her ſelf had diſarmed. Diſarmed! ſaid I? Yea, ſhe had diſfurniſhed him of all convenient Company for his Eſtate, and made him to be ſhaken up with a

Woman's

Woman's Scolding, and that by one of her own Train; one who was past all Shame, and of prostitute Unchastity.

She feared much, lest the young Man, destitute of Friends, beset with all sorts of Miseries, should make Assault in the Night-time. Upon what Person? The Queen's Brother, a Man of great Reputation and Power, and in highest Favour with all Estates. And where should he have assaulted him? In a most strong Castle; whereupon, the Deed being done, neither was Way for him to flee, nor Means of Refuge to the Queen's Mercy. For what Cause should he assail him? There was no Enmity between them, but such as she had sowed. What say you, if she coveted that thing most, which she most feigned her self to fear? For, to what purpose else sent she for her Brother, to come to her in the Night-time, unarmed? Why did she not advise him of this one thing, at least; that because he was to pass by, and hard by the King's Door, he should, in any wise, put on his Armour? Why did she not, either fore-warn him of the Danger, or deferr the Calling of him till the next Morning? No, no; she had a more subtile Purpose in hand. She had but newly sent the King, inflamed (as she hoped) with Hatred of the Earl *Murray*: So thought she it not unlikely, but that the King, kindled with fresh Displeasure, rash by Fervour of Youth, lightly believing her by Excess of Love, would have adventured to slay his supposed Enemy, naked, unaccompanied and unarmed. So sent she the King, raging in Anger, to commit the Slaughter; and practised to draw the Earl *Murray* naked, unaccompanied, unwarned, to be suddainly trapp'd in Treason. This was her Meaning, this was her Desire; but wicked Counsels, how subtile soever they be, are not always prosperous.

What meant this, that after her Deliverance of Child, at which time other Women do chiefly comfort themselves in the Lovingness of their Husbands; and confess, that they find some Ease of Pain by sight of them; she, at the same time, driveth her Husband away? What else shall we say she meant thereby, but, as the Poet saith, for pure Love, God wot, she shut him out of Doors: But this tender Creature, that either shutteth out her Husband, or, as soon as he is come, chaseth him away again; whose Stomach turned at the sight of him, who is suddainly taken with Pangs at his presence; when she was in the Pinnace, amongst Pirates and Thieves, she could abide at the Poop, and be content to handle the boisterous Cables. Now ask I whom she loved, and whom she hated? For that, at *Aloe*, she drove away the cumbersome Interrupter of her Pastime; that again, when he came to her at *Edinburgh*, she rejected him, I blame her not. I am content to believe, she did it not for Hate to her Husband, but for her Fancy's sake. That again, at *Jedworth*, she suffered him not to come

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at her, let it be born withal; for, not without Cauſe, ſhe feared, leſt the force of her Sickneſs would increaſe at ſight of him, whoſe Death ſhe ſo earneſtly deſired. That ſhe gave ſpecial Commandment, that no Man ſhould lodge him, no Man ſhould relieve him with Meat or Drink, that ſhe, in a manner, forbad him the uſe of Fire and Water: This is, undoubtedly, a Token of outrageous Hatred: But it ſeemeth, ſhe feared the very Infection of her Husband, if he were in any place near her. That ſhe ſent him back, from *Cragmillar*, to *Sterline*, I complain not; but that ſhe bereaved him of all his Neceſſaries, that ſhe took him from his Servants, that ſhe abated the Allowance of his Expences, that ſhe alienated the Nobility from him, that ſhe forbad Strangers the Sight of him, and (as much as in her lay) took from him, even while he lived, the Uſe of Heaven, Earth and Air; this, I ſay, I know not what to call it; Unnaturalneſs, Hatred, barbarous Fierceneſs, or outrageous Cruelty! That when he went from *Sterline*, ſhe took away all his Plate, let it be pardoned; for what need had he of Silver, that carried with him preſent Death in his Boſom? But this I beſeech you to conſider; what great Indignation of all Men it hath kindled, that when the King, poor Soul, made hard ſhift to live in Deſolation, Sorrow and Beggary; whilſt that *Bothwel*, like an Ape in Purple, was triumphantly ſhewed to the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Nations; even that ſame Partner of her Husband's Bed, not ſo much for the Love of himſelf, as for Deſpight of her Husband, was carried abroad, ſet out with all kind of Ornaments; even that adulterous Partner, I ſay, that neither in Birth, nor in Beauty, nor in any honeſt Quality, was in any wiſe comparable with her diſdained Husband. Now let them deny that here were Tokens of Hatred.

But how great, and how unappeaſable this Hatred was, even by this ye may gather: Her Husband ſo oft ſhut out, ſo oft ſent away with Deſpight, driven to extream Poverty, baniſhed into a deſolate Corner, far from the Court, far from the Preſence of Men, ſpoiled of his Servants and Houſhold-furniture, bereaved, in a manner, of his daily neceſſary Suſtenance; yet by no Injuries can be ſhaken from her, by no fear of Death can be withdrawn; but with Serviceableneſs and Patience he aſſayeth, if not to overcome, yet, at leaſt, ſomewhat to aſſwage the violent Cruelty of her unkind Courage. In the mean time, what doth this good, gentle Wife, this merciful Queen, that is, at the beholding of Men's Miſeries, ſo kind and pitiful? Neither is ſhe once moved with the loving Doings, nor with the wretched Plight, nor with the miſerable Wofulneſs of her Husband, nor appeaſed by Time, nor ſatisfied with Torments; but rather, with his Serviceableneſs ſhe is irritated, with his humble Prayers ſhe is more inflamed, and at every time of his Coming ſhe deviſeth ſome new Increaſe of ſpightful Diſhonour;

Dishonour; wherein, when she had spent the uttermost of all her Force, Wit, and Bitterness of Natnre; when she saw the poor young Gentleman, neither to give over by fainting, being oppressed with Poverty; and though he were despised of all Men, and so often thrown into open Perils, neither to despair, nor otherwise, more cruelly, to make away himself; at length, as it were glutted with the sight of his Miseries and Torments, she determined presently to rid him of his Calamities, her self of Irksomness, and her Adulterer from Fear; and so by certain special Persons thereto appointed, she caused him to be poisoned, that being absent from her, he might so die with less Suspicion. But of the Poison I will say more in another Place.

When this Practice fram'd not fully to her Desire, she goeth her self to *Glascow*, that whom being absent she could not kill, she might her self in Presence satisfie both her cruel Heart, and her Eyes with sight of his present Miseries. And as if her self alone were not sufficient to execute the cruel tormenting of him, she bringeth into his Sight Ministers of her heinous doings, and his ancient natural Enemies, and with these Outrages travailed to vex his Soul at his last Breath. But wherefore gather we Arguments, as in a doubtful Case, when she her self will not suffer us to doubt at all? She, the Queen her self, I say, openly protested, not to her Lover in Bed, not amongst her Confederates in secret Chambers, nor before few and mean Persons of Estate, apt to Flattery, constrained by Poverty, or of Purpose affectioned; she her self, I say, openly confessed, That she could not live one good Day, if she were not rid of the King, and that not once, nor unadvisedly; but in Presence of those Personages, whom she used to call to Council in the weightiest Affairs. For it cannot be said unadvisedly slipped from her, that was so oft spoken, in so many, so far distant Places, with Tears always added, to move Credit, before Men notable, both for their Nobility, Weath, and Wisdom, and wherein she declared her own Opinion, practised to win their Assent, and hearkened for their Advices. But be it that she forged all these things, be it that her Tears were feigned, let them not believe it that heard it; let the greatness of the Outrage make the Report uncredible. I my self also would gladly be one of that Number, to think these things uttered by her, rather to grasp the Minds of others, than that she her self so thought in her Heart, if it were not so, that the thing it self confirmeth the Report, that the Outrageousness of the doings far surmounteth all Bitterness of Utterance.

When he was preparing to depart from *Glascow*, she caused Poison to be given him. You will ask, by whom? In what Manner? What kind of Poisons? Where had she it? Ask you these Questions? As though wicked Princes ever wanted Ministers of their wicked Treacheries.

ries. But ſtill you preſs me perhaps, and ſtill you ask me who be theſe Miniſters? Firſt, that poiſoned he was, it is certainly known: For though the Shameleſneſs of Men would not ſtick to deny a thing ſo manifeſt; yet the kind of Diſeaſe, ſtrange, unknown to the People, unacquainted with Phyſicians, eſpecially ſuch as had not been in *Italy* and *Spain*, black Pimples breaking out over all his Body, grievous Aches in all his Limbs, and intolerable ſtink diſcloſed it. If this Cauſe were to be pleaded before grave *Cato* the Cenſor, all this were eaſie for us to prove before him that was perſwaded, that there is no Adultereſs, but the ſame is alſo a Poiſoner. Need we ſeek for a more ſubſtantial Witneſs than *Cato*, every of whoſe Sentences Antiquity eſteemed as ſo many Oracles. Shall we not in a manifeſt thing believe him whoſe Credit hath in things doubtful ſo oft prevailed? Lo here a Man of ſingular Uprightneſs, and of moſt notable Faithfulneſs and Credit, beareth Witneſs againſt a Woman burning in Hatred of her Husband, and in Love with an Adulterer, and in both theſe Diſeaſes of corrupt Affections unbridled, untemperable by her Eſtate, raging by her Power, and indulgently following the Wantonneſs of her Wealth. But let us omit old and diſcuſſed things, and let us ſever the Credit of inconſtant Multitudes from the caſe of Princes. Let us in ſo great a matter admit no Witneſs, in whom either his Eſtate may be ſuſpected, or his Manners may be blamed. What Witneſſes then ſhall we uſe? For by this Condition, we may bring forth none under the Royal Degree of a King or a Queen.

But ſuch vile Acts are not wont to be committed by Noble and good Men, but by lewd and wicked Miniſters. Howbeit that herein alſo the moſt preciſe may be ſatisfied, go to, let us bring forth a Royal Witneſs. Read her own Letter; her Letter (I ſay) written with her own Hand. What mean theſe Words? *He is not much deformed, and yet he hath received much.* Whereof hath he *received much*? The thing it ſelf, the Diſeaſe, the Pimples, the Savor do tell you. Even that *much* he received, that brought Deformity, Forſooth, very Poiſon. But her Letters name not Poiſon. This is ſufficient for me, that it is there ſaid, that *though he received much, he is not much deformed*, or, *though he be not much deformed, yet he received much.* What meaneth this Word *yet*? What elſe but this, That whatſoever it was that he received, the ſame was the Cauſe of his Deformity, which though it were much, yet was it not ſo much as to work ſuch Deformity as was deſired. But be it, it were not Poiſon, What then was it elſe? You can find nothing that can with Convenience of Reaſon be named in Place of it. Finally, whatſoever it be that is meant by this Word *much*, it is ſuch, as ſhe her ſelf, in ſo ſecret and familiar a Letter, dare not call by the right Name. Yea, and though we would ſhift it off by

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evillous Expounding; yet she her self will not suffer us. Compare that which went before with that which followeth, and by her Device and Purpose for time to come, ye shall easily understand, what it is that she hath done in time past. First, she saith, it is needful, that he be *purged*; then she determineth to carry him to *Cragmillar*, where both the Physicians, and (which is more dangerous than any Physician) she her self may be present. Finally, she asketh Council of *Bothwel*, whether he can devise any secreter way by Medicine, than that at *Cragmillar*, and after a *Bath*. See how all things hang together. *He hath received much, he must be purged*, and at *Cragmillar*; that is, in a desolate Corner, in a Place, by Reason of small Resort, very apt for a Mischief to be committed. And *Medicine he must use*, and what, forsooth? Even the same whereof he had before received much. How shall that appear? She will have the manner of ministring the Medicine to be secret. If it be to heal him, what needs that Secrecy? Why is it not administred openly, in a known and Populous Place? Now he is eased of his Sickness, lusty and healthy, why is he purged in an unusual manner, and in an uninhabited Corner? But perhaps it was a strange kind of Disease, it had need of strange Remedies. What Physicians then called she to Counsel? To whom is this Charge committed to seek out a new Medicine and curing for the King? Forsooth, to the King's Enemy, to the Queen's Adulterer, the vilest of all two-footed Beasts, whose House was in *France* defamed for poisoning, and whose Servants were there for the same Cause, some tortured, some imprisoned, and all suspected. When was he appointed to receive this Noble Medicine? Either at his Bathing, where he should wash alone, or after his Bathing, where he should sup alone. So, forsooth, are Medicines accustomed to be provided by Enemies, in a secret Place, without Witnesses. That therefore while an Adulterer, an Adulteress, and the Partner of his Wives Body, curiously prepareth, and secretly ministreth; what Medicine this is, let every Man with himself weigh and consider. By this time, I suppose, you see the Hatred of the Queen, how unappeaseable, how outrageously cruel, how obstinate it was against her Husband, whom she thrust among Thieves, whom she practised to match in Feud and Battel with the Nobility and with her Brethren, who were both naked and poor, loden with Despights, vexed with Railings, assailed with Poison, she drove him away into a solitary Corner, there to die with the extremest Torment. Now let us proceed to the other Causes.

This Hatred it self was of it self sufficient to prick her forward to her Enemies Slaughter, often sought, once attempted, and almost atchieved. Yet was there besides, a stronger Enforcement, it self able to enflame her Hatred, I mean the Love wherewith she intemperately

fansied *Bothwel*: Which Love, whosoever saw not, and yet hath seen him, will perhaps think it incredible. For what was there in him, that was of a Woman of any honest Countenance to be desired? Was there any Gift of Eloquence? Or Grace of Beauty? Or Virtue of Mind, garnished with the Benefits, which we call, of Fortune? As for his Eloquence and Beauty, we need not say much, sith they that have seen him can well remember both his Countenance, his Gate, and the whole Form of his Body how gay it was: They that have heard him, are not ignorant of his rude Utterance and Blockishness. But you will say, he was in executing Attempts, wise and politick; in adventuring of Perils, hardy and valiant, in free giving, liberal; in use of Pleasures, temperate. For Wisdom, even they that be most affectionate unto him, dare not charge him with it. Of Valiantness indeed he laboured to win some Estimation; but among Horse-men, on a swift Steed well mounted, well provided for his own safety, a Beholder of other Men's Fighting, sometime hardly chasing them that fled, but his Face toward him near at Hand, he never durst abide. Will ye have an Example of his excellent Valiantness? Of a Thief, a notable Coward, whom being yielded, and unawares he had deadly wounded, he was thrown down to the Ground, hurt, bruised with dry Strokes, and had been quite slain; if the poor Thief's Strength, being ready to die, had not failed him. I could rehearse his glorious, vain Braggeries in *France*, I could tell of his last fearful Flight as far as to *Denmark*. But I had rather rub up the Remembrance of that Day, when the Queen forsaking him, came to the Nobility that protested to revenge the Slaughter of the King. The Armies stood ready in Array, *Bothwel* in Number of Men was equal, in Place had the Advantage: There stood before him, to be his Reward being Vanquisher, a Queen much fansying, and entirely loving him; a Kingdom, Wealth, and Honour, for him, and his Posterity; moreover, Impunity for his Offences past, extreme Liberty to do what he list for time to come; Ability to advance his Friends, and be revenged of his Enemies; and on the other side, if he were vanquished, Dishonour, Poverty, and Banishment; Finally, all things, that thereafter happened or hereafter may happen, were then before his Eyes. There were also present beside the two Armies, Beholders and Witnesses of each Man's Valiantness and Cowardice, the Queen, the Price of the Battle, and *Mounsieur de Croc*, the Embassador of *France*. Now you look to hear how this Magnifical Boaster of Valiantness did acquit himself. First, being mounted upon an excellent Horse, he came bravely forth before the Army. There the Man, forsooth, very sparing of his Country-mens Blood and lavish of his own, calleth for one to try it with him by Combat, Man to Man. And when there were many on the other side of honourable Birth

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and Estates, that offered to accept the Combat, by and by, his violent Heat cooled, and his glorious Speech quailed: and had it not been that the Queen, as it were some God, out of a Gin in a Tragedy, had by her Authority taken up the Matter, and forbidden her pretty venereous Pidgeon to give Battel, he had failed to find, not only a meam, but also an honest Colour to refuse to fight. And so the Combat was interrupted; yet in the joined Battel, he behaved himself so valiantly, forsooth, the first Man, almost at the Beginning, and alone, he ran his way, and so at length drew the rest of his Part to flee after him.

But for his Defaults in Martial Feats, perhaps the Man was supplied with Civil Vertues: Alas! what were they? or what Vertues could be looked for in him? A Man for the most part brought up in the Bishop *Murray*'s Palace, to wit, a most wicked corrupt House, in Drunkenness and Whoredoms, amongst most vile Ministers of dissolute misorder. After that he was grown towards Man's estate, at Dice and among Harlots, he so wasted a most goodly large Revenue of his Inheritance, that (as the Poet saith) *At his need he had not left wherewith to buy him a Halter to hang himself.* He, I say, that defiled not only other Mens Houses with Cuckoldry, but also his own with incestuous Villainy.

This Man therefore, when I say to have been beloved of the Queen, and not only loved, but also outrageously and intemperately loved; they that know it not, will peradventure think that I tell wonders. But some Men perhaps will say, Was there none other in all the Troop of the Youth of Nobility beside him, more worthy to be beloved? Certainly there were very many: And one there was, in all things that were wont to allure Love, of all other most excellent, even her own Husband. What was it then that joined so unequal Love, and so far against Reason? If I shall say it was likeness of Conditions, I shall name a likely cause of Love, though to some Men perchance, it may seem an untrue cause of their Love; neither am I willing to enter into that Discourse; neither do I affirm the Rumours spread of her in *France*, in time of her first Marriage; howbeit, the Wickednesses of the rest of her Life, make some proof that they rose not all of nothing; and many things that have been noised of her since her return into *Scotland*, I have no mind to believe; as for my part I am content they be buried in forgetfulness, or if that cannot be, let them be taken for false and feigned: Neither is it necessary over curiously to examine Causes in Love, which is usually so carried with a rash violent motion of a muddy and troubled Mind, that for the most part it endeth in madness; which if ye labour to govern by discreet Advice, ye do nothing else but as if ye should endeavour to be mad with Reason. But yet here there want no Causes, for there was in them both a Likeness, if not of Beauty, nor outward things, nor of Vertues, yet of most extream Vices. She a young Woman, suddenly advanced

to the highest Degree of Authority, when she had never seen with her Eyes, heard with her Ears, nor considered in her Heart the form of a Kingdom governed by Law, and thereto was furnished with the untemperate Counsels of her Kinsmen, who themselves practised to set up a Tyrannous Rule in *France*, endeavoured to draw Right, Equity, Laws, and Customs of Ancestors to her only beck and pleasure.

Of this immoderate desire, there burst out from her many times, many words disclosing it; this she studied day and night. But against this Desire, there withstood the Custom of the Country, the Laws and Statutes, and principally the Consent of the Nobility, who remaining safe, she could never attain it. To the end therefore that she might be able violently to atchieve it, she determined by force to remove all that stood in her way; but she wist not well by what means or by whose help to attempt it.

Fraud was the way to work it, for otherwise it was not possible to be obtained: For this purpose therefore *Bothwel* only seemed the fittest Man, a Man in extream poverty, doubtful whether he were more vile or wicked; and who between factions of sundry Religions, despising both sides, counterfeited a love of them both: He, when he had once before offered the *Hamilton*'s his service to murder the Earl *Murray*, gave thereby a likelihood, that upon hope of greater gain, he would not stick to adventure some greater Enterprize, being one whom the Ruine of his own decayed Family, prick'd forward headlong to mischief, and whom no respect of Godliness or Honesty restrained from ungracious Actions. As for excessive and immoderate use of Lechery, he therein no less sought to be famous, than other Men do shun Dishonour and Infamy. She therefore, a Woman greedily coveting untempered Authority, who esteemed the Laws her Prison, and the Bridle of Justice her Bondage, when she saw in her Husband not mettle enough to trouble the State, she pick'd out a Man for her purpose, who neither had Wealth to lose, nor Fame to be stained, even such an one as she might easily overthrow again, if she should once grow weary of him; such a one as she might easily snare his Incontinence, with wanton Allurements, satisfie his need with Money, and bind his Assuredness to her with a guilty Conscience and Confederate in Mischiefs: These be the Fountains of that fame, not unmeasurable, but mad Love, infamous Adultery, and vile Parricide, wherewith, as with a Pledge, that bloody Marriage was plighted. These therefore were the causes of enterprizing that heinous Act, to wit, unappeasable Hatred of her Husband, and intemperate Love of her Adulterer. There was moreover a hope, that the Crime might be diverted from them to other, and the execution for it might be laid upon the poor Lives of their Enemies, and that Men most guiltless of the fault, might be thrust in their place,

as Sacrifices to appeaſe the Peoples diſpleaſure; if not, to what end then ſerved that Battel, which was almoſt begun to be fought between the King and the Lord *Robert* her Brother? To what end tended thoſe Seeds of Diſcord that were ſcattered between the King and the Nobility? Wherefore did ſhe ſo curiouſly intreat the Earl *Murray* to ſtay with her the day before the Murther was committed? or what cauſe was there to ſend for him? There was an Ambaſſadour come out of *Savoy*; For what cauſe? ſurely it muſt needs be a great Cauſe, and ſuch as could not be ended without the aſſembly of the Nobility: no, god wot; the Ambaſſadour of *Savoy* being bidden too late to the Chriſtening, came when all was ended, not for Ambaſſadour to the Chriſtening, but as one ſent to excuſe the neglecting of doing that Kindneſs, when both he liked not to ſend ſo far for ſo ſmall a matter; and he was ſomewhat aſhamed to have failed in preſence, when the *French*-men and *Engliſh*-men had already done it. For the more honourable diſmiſſing of him, the Earl *Murray* was ſent for, and that with ſundry Meſſengers, to come from his Wife that lay a dying: What need was there then of his preſence? To draw him to be a party in Conſpiracy of the Slaughter? Why, was it never attempted before? Thought they it beſt at the laſt point, at the very inſtant when the Murder ſhould be committed, to join him to their Fellowſhip, as a light Man, inconſtant, and ſhifting his Purpoſes at every moment of time; infamous in his former Life, and not well aſſured in his preſent Eſtate? No, there is none of theſe things that they yet dare ſay of him. Seeing then they cannot imagine a falſe Cauſe to ſtay him, what was the true cauſe indeed, every Man may eaſily gather; even the ſame that cauſed firſt the Earl of *Athole*, and afterwards him to depart from the Court; the ſame that ſo brought him in danger of Death; the ſame that had ſlandered him with falſe Rumours ſcattered in *England*; the ſame that perſecuted him with infamous Libels of the Murderers themſelves; the ſame that made him to chuſe rather to go into Baniſhment, than to remain in Court among Ruffians Weapons, with great peril of his Life.

But what availeth this Equity of the Cauſe before Hearers, either utterly ignorant of the matter how it was done, or of themſelves diſfavouring this part, are envious, or apt to be carried away with feigned Rumours, which eſteem the Slanders of moſt lewd light Perſons, for true Teſtimonies, and give credit to theſe Men, who boaſting, at home, that they are able to do what they liſt, yet neither dare commit their Cauſe to the Sentence of the Judges, nor were able to defend themſelves in Battel: And as by a guilty Conſcience of Offences they feared Judgment, ſo by Rage, grown of their Guiltineſs, they run headlong to Battel, and from Battel run cowardly away: And now again, when ſtanding upon the Advantage that they have both in number and wealth,

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they ſcorn the Wiſdom of their Adverſaries, and deſpiſe their Power in compariſon of their own; yet diſtruſting to prevail by true Manhood, they fall to Robbery, and turn their ungracious Minds to Slandering, Cavelling, and Lying, whom but yet for the good will that I bear to my Country-men, I would adviſe to ceaſe from this folly, or fury, or diſeaſe of evil ſpeaking, leſt in time to come, when Truth ſhall ſhine out, they ſhut up and ſtop with hatred of them thoſe Perſons Ears to their Petitions, whom now they fill and load with falſe Rumours, for there will not always be place for forgiveneſs, but as Darkneſs at the Sun ſhining, ſo Lyes at the Light of Truth muſt vaniſh away.

As for the commodious means for committing that vile fact, and the hope of hiding it, I need not to purſue the declaring of them in many words, ſith both the eaſineſs to do it, the opportunities of places, and all advancements of occaſions and ſeaſons were in their own power: And to hide the Fact, what needed they, when they feared no puniſhment although it were publiſhed? For what Puniſhment could they fear in ſo ſtrong a Conſpiracy, when both the force of Laws, whereof themſelves were Governours, was utterly extinguiſhed, and the Minds of the moſt part of Men were either ſnared with partnerſhip of the miſchievous Fact, or carried with Hope, or Foreſtalled with Rewards, or diſcouraged and bridled with Fear of ſo great a Power on the other part? But howſoever this be, yet it will be good to ſee throughly both the order of the doing, the unadviſedneſs, inconſtancy, and end of their Devices: For thereby ſhall ye perceive, that there wanted not deſire to hide the Fact, but that the fury of a diſtracted Mind, overthrew all the Order of their Counſels,; while ſometime, as deſirous to beguile publick Fame, they endeavoured to keep cloſe their intended Miſchief, yet they dealt therein ſo openly, as careleſs of their Eſtimation; they ſeemed to make ſmall account how Men judged of their Doings: For at his preparing to go to *Glaſcow*, the Poiſon was given him ſecretly, and they thought they had ſufficiently well provided that he ſhould in his abſence from them, be conſumed with pining ſickneſs: But the reſt of their Dealings toward him, were ſo cruelly handled, that though his Diſeaſe ſhould have happened to be natural, yet it would have been ſuſpected for poiſoning: For he her Husband, the Father of her only and firſt-born Child; the Father, I ſay, of that Son, whoſe Chriſtening was ſolemnized with that great Pomp and Glory, being eſcaped away, in a manner, naked out of his Houſe flaming in fire, tormented by the way with grievous pain, when he lay at *Glaſcow*, of a dangerous ſickneſs, likely to die: What did his excellent good Wife the while? What did ſhe? At the firſt news of it, did ſhe haſte to him in poſt? Doth ſhe with her Preſence, with her friendly familiar Speech, or with her loving Countenance comfort him in ſickneſs? When ſhe cannot ſtay him in Life, cometh ſhe to receive his laſt Breath?

Cloſeth

Gloſeth ſhe his Eyes at his dying? Doth ſhe the other kind Duties of honeſt Matrons? No: But ſhe that had now let him eſcape, to go and die, and hoped that he could not linger out his unhappy Life much longer, ſhe goeth a quite contrary way, into another Country, in progreſs; and, with her fair *Adonis*, ſhe viſiteth Noble-men's Houſes, and ſtaineth the Houſes that harboured them, with the Spots of their Unchaſtities; and juſt about the time of her Husband's Death (as ſhe gueſſed by the ſtrength and working of the Poiſon) ſhe returns to *Sterline*. When the Matter wrought not ſo faſt as ſhe expected, for the Strength of his Youth had wreſtled with the Soreneſs of his Pain, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to have altogether forſaken her Duty, ſhe daily prepares to go to *Glaſcow*, but never goeth. At the laſt, diſappointed of the Hope that ſhe had conceived in her Heart, ſhe taketh her ſelf to other Devices. She cometh to *Edinburgh*, and there calleth to Counſel her Adulterer, and a few other, privy of thoſe Secrets: There they decree, that in any wiſe the King muſt be ſlain; yet were they not fully adviſed, with what kind of Death he ſhould be murthered; which may eaſily be gathered by her Letter, wherein ſhe partly compareth her ſelf to *Medea*, a bloody Woman, and a poiſoning Witch: Alſo by another of her Letters, wherein ſhe aſketh Advice about the Poiſoning of him. The King, who had already taſted of her lovely Cup, doubting whether he were better any more to believe her flattering Speeches or to fear the ſhrewdneſs of her Nature; though ſometimes he deſpaired not of her Reconciliation, yet was evermore fearful and ſuſpicious; but when he ſaw that neither his Life nor his Death were in his Power, he was conſtrained to purſe up his paſſed Injuries, to diſſemble his preſent Fear, and to feign himſelf ſome Hopes for time to come. So was he led out, not as a Husband, but carried out as a Coarſe; or rather, drawn, as it were, to the Shambles. The Queen, glorioufly ſhewing her ſelf in pompous manner, goeth before, in Triumph over the young Gentleman, vexed with all kind of Miſeries, tormented with Poiſon, entrapped with Treaſons, and drawn to Execution. There follows after the triumphant Carr, the ancient Enemies to his Father's Houſe, brought thither on purpoſe, that they alſo might feed their Eyes with that woful Spectacle; and whoſe Death, at hand, they looked for, they might in the mean time take pleaſure of the Sorrow of his Heart. And that no Ceremony of ſolemn Sacrifices might be wanting, *John Hamilton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was preſent, as their Prieſt; a Man before defiled with all kind of Wicked eſs, pamper'd with the Spoils and Murthers of his Country-men, an old Conqueror of many murthering Victories. The People, all along the Way, looking pitiouſly, ſhewed a Fore-telling of no good Luck to come: The Queen's Companions could neither tell their Sadneſs, nor hide their Gladneſs, when the heinous Outrage of

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the vile Fact intended held their unmeasurable Joy in suspence, upon expectation of the Success. Thus led they him to *Edinburgh*, not into the Queen's Palace. Why so? Lest the Infection of the pestilent Disease, forsooth, might hurt her young Son: As though they that be poison'd, were also to be shunn'd, for fear of Infection. But the truer Cause was this, lest his Presence should trouble them, in interrupting their free enjoying their Pleasures, and their Consultations about his Murther. Whither then is he led? Into the most desolate part of the Town, some time inhabited, while the Popish Priests Kingdom lasted; but for certain Years past, without any Dweller; in such an House as, of it self, would have fallen down, if it had not been botched up for the time, to serve the turn of this Night's Sacrifice. Why was this place chiefly chosen? They pretended the wholsomness of the Air. O good God! Going about to murther her Husband, seeketh she for a wholsom Air? To what use? Not to preserve his Life, but to reserve his Body to Torment. Here to tend her wisely diligent Attendance, and her last Care of her Husband's Life, she feareth lest he should, by Preventing Death, be delivered from pain; she would fain have him feel himself die. But let us see what manner of wholsomness of Air it is. Is it among dead Men's Graves, to seek the preserving of Life? For hard by there were the Ruins of two Churches; on the East side, a Monastery of *Dominick* Friars; on the West, a Church of our Lady; which, for the desolateness of the place, is called, *The Church in the Field*; on the South-side, the Town-Wall, and in the same, for commodious passage every way, is a Postern door; on the North side are a few Beggars Cottages, ready to fall, which some time served for Stews for certain Priests and Monks; the name of which place doth plainly disclose the form and nature thereof, for it is commonly called *Thieves Lane*. There is never another House near, but the *Hamilton*'s House, which is about a Stone's cast distant; and that also stood void. Thither removeth the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who always before was used to lodge in the most populous parts of the Town: He also watched all that Night that the King was slain. Now I beseech you, sith you cannot with your Eyes, yet, at least, with your Minds, behold an House, lately of old Priests, among Graves, between the Ruins of two Temples; it self also ruinous, near to the Thieves haunt, and it self a Receiver of Thieves; not far from the Fort and Garrison of his Enemies, that stood right over against the Door; by which, if any Man should flee out, he could not escape their traiterous Ambushment. The very shape of this place, when you consider it in your Mind, when you hear of the Ruins of Churches, Graves of dead Men, lurking Corners of Thieves, Brothel-houses of Harlots; doth not, I say, not the House only, but also every part near about it, seem to proclaim Mischief and Treachery? Seemeth here a

King

King to have gone into an House for Lodging, or to be thrust into a Den of Thieves? Was not that desolate Wasteness, that uninhabited place, able of it self to put simple Men in fear, to make wiser Men suspicious, and to give wicked Men shrewd Occasions? What meant his Enemies unwonted Repair into those Parts, and watching all Night, in a manner, hard at his Gate? Why chose he now this place for his Lodging, against his former usage? The House, ye will say, was empty, and his Brother's House, and near to the King's Lodging. It was empty long before; Why lodged you never there before? Why forsook you the populous places in the Heart of the City, and nearness to the Court; and thrust your self into a desolate Corner? What Profit, what Commodity, what Pleasure herein respect you? Was it your meaning, that you being one that ever had been a greedy Coveter of popular Fame, and Catcher of Courtiers with Baits of good Chear, now would, of your own accord, go hide your self in a blind Hole, out of all Company and Resort? That you, rather overwhelmed than laden with plenty of Benefices, went thither to delight your Heart in the Ruin of Temples? But be it that your coming thither was but by Chance, and that you had some Causes to go thither; though not true, yet somewhat likely.

What meant your unwonted watching all Night? What meant the fearful murmuring of your Servants that Night, whom yet, in that publick Tumult, you commanded, not once to stir out of Doors? But what Cause had they to go out? Was it to have Understanding of the Matter, whereof your self were an Author and Deviser? No; for, out of your own Watch-Tower, you heard with your Ears the Noise of the Ruin, you saw the Smoak and Ashes with your Eyes, you drunk up the Joy thereof in your Heart, and the Savour, or the Gun-powder, you, in a manner, snuffed up at your Nose. Perhaps you meant to send out some to receive them that fled; but you saw no Man flee; and therefore the Lights that were seen out of the highest part of your House, all the Night long, were, as upon the lucky ending of the thing that you looked for, even then suddainly put out.

But let us return to the King. They thought it not enough to have set open the Postern in the Wall, to let in Thieves thereat; nor to have set an Ambush before the Door, that none should escape; but also they kept with themselves the Keys of two Doors; the one of the lower Room, where they had undermined the Wall, and filled the holes with Gun-powder; and the other of the upper Room, that the Murtherers might come to the King, in his Bed: Then of those few Servants that he had, they withdrew the greater number, being such as were before set about him; not so much to do him Service, as to be Spies of

his Secrets, and carry News to the Queen. The last that was left, one *Alexander Durain*, when he could find no reasonable Excuse to depart, was thrust out by the Queen her self: She, in the mean time, meaning not to fail in playing her part, while *Bothwel* is in preparing the tragical Stage for the Murther, daily visiteth the King. His Heart, passioned with Love, sometimes she comforteth with sweet Promises, sometimes she vexeth with Brawlings, and still keepeth his Wit occupied with Suspicions, and rightly representeth in Action, the Poet's Fable; wherein is feigned, that *Prometheus*'s Liver, daily growing to invent new Torments, is daily knawn and preyed upon by an Eagle: For, after the very same manner, sometimes she cherisheth and refresheth the silly young Gentleman, to no other End, but that he may have Life remaining, to suffer more Sorrows.

Now, I beseech you every one, think with your selves, upon the fresh doing of the Fact, how Men's Hearts were moved; when, even now, these things cannot be heard reported, without Indignation. There was provided by the most wicked Man in the World, by his Enemy, by his Wife's Adulterer, an House, in a manner, severed from all Concourse of People; fitter for a Slaughter-house, than for Man's Dwelling: It is provided for a young Gentleman, unprovident by Youth, easie to be trapped in Treason by Love, spoiled of his Servants, forsaken of his Friends: An House (I say) torn, solitary on every side; not also unclose, but open to pass through, the Keys thereof in his Enemies Custody, no Man left within but a young Man not yet recovered of Sickness, and an old Man feeble by Age, and two Strangers unacquainted with the Places, Matter and Persons; no Man dwelling near, but his Enemies and Thieves. But as for danger of Thieves, the good fore-casting Woman had well provided; for she had left him nothing to allure a Thief withal: And as for his Enemies, she had appointed them to be but Lookers on, and not Part-players in this Tragedy; but the Glory of the Fact she reserved to her self and *Bothwel*.

What, in the mean time, doth the Queen's great Carefulness? What meaneth her unwonted Resort? What her malicious, and not obsequious Diligence? She visiteth him daily, she prolongeth her Talk with him many Hours together, two Nights she resteth in a lower Chamber under him (if guilty Conscience of most heinous Doings can, from Torments of Furies, suffer that outrageous Heart to rest at all.) She feared much, lest, if the lower place of the House were left empty, the noise of the Underminers working, and of the Bringers in of the Powder, should bring some of the Servants into some suspicion of Treachery. Beside, she had a mind to see the thing done her self, rather than to commit it to the Trust of any other. She had a desire to take a Foretaste of the Joy to come; and when she could not with her Ears, yet,

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at least with her Heart, to conceive afore-hand the Fire, the Smoke, the Powder, the Crack of the House falling, the fearful Trouble, the Tumult, the confused Dismayedness of the Doers, the Thieves, and the People. All things thus prepared for that doleful Night, then entereth she into the last Care of her good Fame: she endeavoureth to divert all Suspicions from her, she goeth to her Husband, she kisseth him, she giveth him a Ring for Pledge of her Love, she talketh with him more lovingly than she was wont to do, and promiseth more largely, she feigneth that she had great Care of his Health, and yet her companying whither Adulterer she surceaseth not.

They that more nearly noted these things, prognosticated no good thing to come. For how much the greater Tokens that the Queen shewed of reconciled Affection, so much the more Cruelty did every Man in his Heart fore-conceive of all her Intentions. For else whence cometh that sudden Change, so great Care for him, whom she had poisoned the Month before, whom even lately she not only wished dead, but desired to see him die, whose Death she set her Brother, yea, both her Brethren to procure; and she, like a Master of Mischief, thrust forth the King to fight, and her self in the mean time prepared for his Burial? Not past a few Months before, she her self was desirous to die, because she loathed to see the King alive. Whence cometh now this sudden Care of his Health? I looked she should say, she was reconciled to him. Were you reconciled to your Husband, whom you sent away into that Desart, that Camp of Furies, as the Poet calleth it? For whom, among Brothel houses of Harlots, among Beggars Cottages, among Thieves lurking-holes, you prepared a House so open to pass through, that you left therein more Entries than Men to shut them? you that allured and assembled Ruffians to his Slaughter, and Thieves to his Spoil? You that drove away his Servants that should have defended his Life? You that thrust him out naked, alone, unarmed, among Thieves, in danger to be slain? When in all this miserable State of your Husband, your Adulterer in the mean time dwelt in your Palace, daily haunted your Chamber, Day and Night all Doors were open for him, whilst your poor Husband, debarred all Company of the Nobility, his Servants forbidden to come at him, or sent away from him, was forsaken and thrust away into a solitary Desart, for a mocking Stock, and I would to God, it had been for a mocking Stock only? Of his other Servants I enquire not. I do not curiously question why they went away, why they then especially forsook the King, when he chiefly needed their Help and Service; when he was newly recovered; When he began to go abroad, and had no other Company. Of *Alexander Durain* I cannot keep Silence, whom you had for his Keeper, and your Spy. What was there for him to espy? Was there any thing for him to bring News

of, to an honeſt Matron, loving to her Husband, faithful in Wedlock, and fearful of a Partner of his Love? Feared ſhe, leſt he, a young Gentleman, beautiful, and a King, ſhould caſt wanton Eyes upon ſome other Woman in her Abſence? No, God wot; for that was it that ſhe moſt deſired; for ſhe her ſelf had practiſed to allure him thereto before, ſhe her ſelf had offered him the Occaſions, and of her ſelf ſhewed him the means. This was it that moſt grieved her, while ſhe was ſeeking Cauſes of Divorce, that ſhe could not find in him ſo much as any ſlender Suſpicion of Adultery. Why then were Spies ſet about him to watch him? Was it not that none of the Nobility, none of his Servants, nor any Stranger at all ſhould come at him, that no Man ſhould ſpeak with him, that might diſcloſe the Treaſon, and forewarn him of his Danger? This ſame very *Alexander*, how carefully ſhe ſaveth, when ſhe goeth about to kill her Husband? How late ſhe ſendeth him away, when the reſt were gone, even at the very Point of her Husband's Death, when ſhe had now no more need of Eſpials? For the day before the Murder was committed, there was none of the Miniſters that were privy to her ſecret Councils left behind, but only *Alexander*. He, when he ſaw that Night, no leſs doleful than ſhameful, to approach, prepareth, as himſelf thought a fine ſubtil Excuſe to be abſent, ſo as rather Chance might ſeem to have driven him out, than he himſelf willing to have forſaken his Maſter. He putteth Fire in his own Bed-ſtraw, and when the Flame ſpread further, he made an out-cry, and threw his Bedding, half ſinged, out of the King's Chamber. But the next day, when that Excuſe ſerved not ſo handſomly as he deſired, for that in the Queen's hearing, the King very ſweetly entreated him not to leave him alone that Night, and alſo deſired him to lie with himſelf, as he had often uſed to do, for the King entirely loved him above all the reſt; *Alexander* in Perplexity, wanting what to anſwer, added to his firſt Excuſe, Fear of Sickneſs; and pretended, that for commodious taking of Phyſick for his Health, he would lie in the Town. When this would not yet ſerve him, the Queen added her Authority, and told the King, That he did not well to keep the young Man with him againſt the Order of his Health; and therewithal ſhe turned to *Alexander*, and bade him go where was beſt for him: And forthwith, as ſoon as the Word was ſpoken, he went his Way. I will not here preciſely trace out all the Footings of theſe wicked doings; neither will I curiouſly enquire, whether that former Day's Fire were happened by Caſualty, or kindled by Fraud. Neither will I ask why he that had ſo often been received to lie in the King's own Bed, doth now this only Night eſpecially refuſe it. Let us ſuppoſe that Sickneſs was the Cauſe thereof. This only one thing I ask, what kind of Sickneſs it was, that came upon him at that very inſtant, and before Morning left him again, without

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any Physicians help; and whereof, neither before, nor since, nor at that present, there ever appeared any Token? But I trust, though he hold his Peace, ye all sufficiently understand it. In the Man guilty in Conscience of the mischievous Intention, Fear of Death overcame Regard of Duty. Had it not been that *Alexander*, before time a Spy, and Tale-bearer, now a Forsaker and Betrayer of his Master, was joined to her in Privity of all these wicked doings, would not the Queen, so cruel in all the rest, have found in her Heart to bestow that one Sacrifice upon her Husbands Funerals? While these things were in doing, the Night was far past, and my Lady *Rereſe*, a lusty, valiant Souldieress, before Sign given, cometh forth into the Field, out of Array; abroad she goeth, getteth her to Horse-back, and though she were somewhat afraid, as one that foreknew the Storm to come; yet she sate still upon her Horse, tarrying for the Queen, but yet a good pretty way from the House. In the mean time *Paris* cometh. Then the Communication brake, and they rose to depart. For, by and by, upon sight of him came to her Remembrance that heinous Offence, that without great Propitiations could not be purged, forsooth; that the Queen had not danced at the Wedding-feast of *Sebastion* the Minstrel and vile Jester; that she sate by her Husband, who had not yet fully recovered his Health; that at the Banquet of her Domestical Parasite, she had not played the dancing Skit. A matter surely worthy of Excuse. But what should she else do? She must needs go, as soon as she saw *Paris*; for so it was agreed, and somewhat must needs be pretended. How happened it that the other Nights before, when she went away earlier, she made no Excuse at all, and now her Departure about Midnight, must needs have an Excuse alledged? But be it so, Could she remember no better Excuse than *Sebastians* Wedding? No, no, I say to the contrary; that if she had left the Wedding of her own natural Body, or her Sister, to visit her Husband, though but a little crazed, she had had a just Excuse before all Men so to do. What if she had done the same Kindness for the King, being not her Husband, or for any other of the Nobility. Is *Sebastian*'s Wedding of such a Value, that a Masking Dance thereat is to be preferred before a Wife's Duty and Love? But surely in this curious excusing and pretended Sorrow of neglected Duty, somewhat lieth hidden; and yet not so hidden, but that it appeareth through the Closure.

This over-much Preciseness of Diligence, excusing where no need is, hath some Suspicion of some secret Mischief that you are loath to have disclosed, and the Slightness of the Excuse, encreaseth the Suspicion, especially when there were other Matters enough that she might better have alleged: but let us admit the Excuse, since the

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Queen her self hath thought it reasonable. Whither then goeth she? Straight into her Chamber. What doth she next? Wearied with the Days Travel, and the Nights watching, goeth she to Bed? No, but she falleth to talking with *Bothwel*, first, almost alone, and afterward alone altogether. What Talk she had, the Matter it self declareth. For *Bothwel*, after that he had put off, his Cloths, as if he would have gone to Bed, by and by putteth on other Apparel, going to do the Deed, he would not be known. I like well the Man's Policy. But his Way was to go through the Watch. Here I marvel at his Madness. But Men's Wits beset with Guiltiness of Mischiefs, do commonly bewray themselves by their own Inconstancy; and blind to all other things, do see only that which they have bent their Mind unto. What he did, the King's Death, his own running away, the Confession of the guilty Persons, and other things that followed the Murder, do declare. After the great Uproar in the Town about it, he, as one utterly ignorant of all, returneth through the same Watch to Bed. When Noise of the Ruine had filled all Men's Ears, and the Crack of it had shaken all the Houses, only the Queen, intentive to Expectation of the Chance, and broad awake, heareth nothing at all, and *Bothwel* heareth nothing. O marvellous Deafness! All other throughout the Town, as many as were awake, were afraid, and as many as slep'd were awaked. At the last *Bothwel* riseth again, and in the self same Enterlude, by suddenly shifting from the Poet, becometh a Messenger, he runneth to the Queen, and thither resorteth many others also that lodged in the Palace. To some the Matter seemed true, to some feigned, to some marvellous. What doth the Queen the whilst? What should she do? She temperately brooded good Luck, she resteth sweetly till the next Day at Noon. Yet the Day following, to observe Decorum and comely Convenience in her Part, without marring the Play, she counterfeiteth a Mourning, which yet neither her Joyfulness dwelling with all in Heart, suffereth long to be feigned, nor Shame permitteth to be wholly neglected. These things thus lying open before your Eyes, thus palpable with Hands, thus fast imprinted in Men's Ears and Knowledge, stand we yet enquiring for the Author of the Murder, as though it were doubtful? But ye say, the Queen denieth it. What denieth she? Forsooth, that she did the Murder: As though there were so great a difference, if one should be the Author or the Executioner; yet he commands it, and commits it. She gave her Council, her Furtherance, her Power and Authority to the doing of it. Neither is the Cause unknown why she did it, even that the same filthy Marriage with *Bothwel* might be accomplished. Though all with Arguments, and so many Witnesses of them that were

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privy to it, failed; yet by her own Teſtimony, by her own Letters, it muſt needs be confeſſed: And though all other things wanted, theſe things that followed the Murder, do plainly declare the Doer; namely, that at the ſlaughter of her Husband, ſhe ſorrowed not, but quietly reſted, as after a gay Enterprize well atchieved; that ſhe mourned not, but in manner openly joyed; that ſhe could abide not only to look upon his dead Body, but alſo greedily beheld it; that ſhe ſecretly in the night buried him without funeral Pomp, or rather hid him like a Thief; for that ſame ſo inconſtant Counterfeiting or Mourning did plainly bewray it ſelf: For what meant that removing to *Seton*'s? Why ſhunned ſhe the Towns Reſort, and Peoples Eyes? Was it becauſe ſhe was aſhamed to Mourn openly, or becauſe ſhe could not well cloak her Joy, or ſecretly to give her ſelf all to Sorrow? No; for at *Seton*'s ſhe threw away all her diſguiſed perſonage of Mourning; ſhe went daily into the Fields amongſt Ruffians; and not only reſorted to her former Cuſtoms, but alſo affected to exerciſe manly Paſtimes, and that among Men, and openly: So lightly ſhe deſpiſed the Opinion and Speech of her Country. But I beſhrew that ſame *Killegree*, and that ſame Monſieur *de Croc*, that came upon her ſo unſeaſonably, and ſhewed to others her counterfeited Perſon unvizor'd; for had not they been, many things that were done, might have been denied; many things might have been handſomely feigned, and much the matter might have been helped by forged Rumours.

But they will ſay, There was a ſolemn Enquiry for the Murder: Forſooth, by *Bothwel* himſelf principally, and by ſome other that then laboured, and yet at this day do labour to deliver the Perſons guilty thereof, from puniſhment of Law, and do now plainly ſhew what they then ſecretly meant. But with what diligence, with what ſecurity was that Enquiry handled? A few poor Souls, the next dwelling-Neighbours to the King's Lodging being call'd, neither durſt tell what they had ſeen and heard; and if they touched any thing near the matter, either they were with fear put to ſilence, or deſpiſed as of no Credit: The wiſer ſort of them durſt not offend *Bothwel* that ſate among the Judges. One or two of the King's Servants that eſcaped the miſchance, were examined which way the Murderers came in? Forſooth, ſay they, we had not the Keys. Who then had them? It was anſwered, that the Queen had them: So began the Secrets of the Court to break out; then was that Enquiry adjourned, and never recontinued. What can be more ſevere and upright than this Enquiry? And yet they prevailed nothing, by it; for what the Examiners would have had kept ſecret, that the People cried out openly; that which they ſuppreſſed, burſt forth; and that which they cloaked in ſecret, it breaketh out into broad light. But there was a Proclamation ſet forth, with pardon of the Fact,

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and promise of Reward to him that would utter it. Why, who had been so mad, that he durst in so manifest peril of his Life, bear Witness, or give Information against the Judges themselves, in whose power lay his Life and Death? It was likely, forsooth, that they which had murdered a King, would spare him that should disclose the Murderer; especially when all Men saw that the Enquiry of the King's Slaughter was quite omitted, and the other Enquiry severely pursued concerning Books accusing the Slaughter. What manner of Judgment it was whereby *Bothwel* was quitted, you have heard; forsooth, by himself procured, the Judges by himself chosen, the Accusers by himself suborned, lawful Accusers forbidden to be present, unless they would yield their Throats to their Enemies Weapons; the Assize appointed neither to a day, according to the Law of the Land, nor after the manner of the Country, nor to enquire of the Murder of the King, but of such a Murder as was alledged to be committed the day before that the King was slain. Here when *Bothwel* by his Friendship and Power, and the Queen by Prayer and Threatning travailed with the Judges, do you now expect what Sentence Men chosen against Law, and against the Custom of the Land have pronounced? In their Judgment, they touched the matter nothing at all; only this they have declared, That it was no lawful Judgment in this; that with a special Protestation they provided, That it should not be prejudicial to them in time to come. Then, that all Men might understand what it was that they sought by Sword, Fire, and Poison, they jumble up Marriages; one is Divorced, another is Coupled, and that in such posting speed, as they might scant have hasted to furnish a Triumph of some Noble Victory: Yet that in these unlawful Weddings some shew of lawful Order might be observed, the goodly Banes were openly proclaimed; for publishing whereof, though the Minister of the Church was threatned with Death, if he did it not, yet at the time of his publishing, himself openly protested, That he knew Cause of Exception, why that Marriage was not lawful. But in such a Multitude assembled, how few were they that knew it not? Sith all could remember well that *Bothwel* had then alive two Wives already not yet Divorced, and the third neither lawfully Married, nor orderly Divorced. But that was not it that was intended, to observe the Ceremonies of lawful Order, but (as they do use in Interludes) they provided a certain shew, or disguised counterfeiting of common usage: For he that hath oft broken all Humane Laws, and hath cast away all Conscience and Religion, could easily neglect the Course of God's Law.

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Now I ſuppoſe I have briefly declared (in reſpect of the greatneſs of the matter) and yet perhaps in more words than needed (the plainneſs of the profes conſidered) of what purpoſe, by what counſel, and upon what hope, that heinous murder was attempted, with what cruelty it was executed, by what tokens, advertiſements, teſtimonies, and letters of the Queen her ſelf the whole matter is proved, and ſo plainly proved, that it may be as openly ſeen, as if it lay before your eyes: yet will I ſhew forth the teſtimony of the whole people, which I think worthy not to be neglected. For ſeveral men do commonly deceive, and are deceived by others, but no man deceiveth all men, nor is deceived by all. This teſtimony of the people is this. When at the Queens going abroad among the people, the greateſt part of the Commons were wont to make Acclamations, wiſhing her well; and happily with ſuch Speeches as either Love enforceth, or Flattery inventeth: now at her going after the Kings ſlaughter to the Caſtle, through the chief and moſt populous Street of the Town, there was all the way a ſad glooming ſilence. And when any woman alone of the multitude had cryed, *God ſave the Queen*, another by and by ſo cryed out, as all men might hear her; *So be it to every one as they have deſerved.*

Albeit theſe things were thus done as I have declared, yet there are ſome that ſtick not to ſay that the Queen was not onely hardly, but alſo cruelly dealt with, that after ſo deteſtable a fact, ſhe was removed from her Regency: and when they could not deny the fact, they complained of the puniſhment. I do not think there will be any man ſo ſhameleſs, to think that ſo horrible a fact ought to have no puniſhment at all. But if they complain of the grievouſneſs of the penalty, I fear leſt to all good men, we may ſeem not to have done ſo gently and temperately, as looſly and negligently, that have laid ſo light a penalty upon an offence ſo heinous, and ſuch as was never heard of before. For what can be done cruelly againſt the authour of ſo outragious a deed, wherein all laws of God and man are violated, deſpiſed, and in a manner wholly extinguiſhed? Every ſeveral offence hath his puniſhment both by God and man appointed: and as there be certain degrees of evil deeds, ſo are there alſo encreaſes in the quantities of puniſhments. If one have killed a man, it is a deed of it ſelf very heinous. What if he have killed his familiar friend? what if his father? what if in one foul fact he hath joyned all theſe offences together? ſurely of ſuch a one, neither can his life ſuffice for impoſing, nor his body for bearing, nor the Judges policy for inventing pain enough for him. Which of theſe faults is not compriſed in this offence? I omit the mean common matters, the murdering of a young gentleman, an innocent, her countrey-man, her kinſman, her familiar, her Couſin-german. Let us

alſo excuſe the fact, if it be poſſible. She unadviſedly, a young Woman, angry, offended, and one of great innocency of life till this time, hath ſlain a lewd young man, an adulterer, an unkind husband, and a cruel King.

If not any one, but all theſe reſpects together, were in this matter, they ought not to avail to ſhift off all puniſhment, but to raiſe ſome pity of the caſe. But what ſay you that none of theſe things can ſo much as be falſly pretended? The fact it ſelf, of it ſelf is odious: in a woman, it is monſtrous: in a wife not onely exceſſively loved, but alſo moſt zealouſly honoured, it is uncredible: and being commited againſt him whoſe age craved pardon, whoſe hearty affection required love, whoſe nighneſs of kindred asked reverence, whoſe innocency might have deſerved favour, upon that young man I ſay, in whom there is not ſo much as alledged any juſt cauſe of offence, thus to execute and ſpend, yea, to exceed all torments due to all offences, in what degree of cruelty ſhall we account it? But let theſe things avail in other perſons to raiſe hatred, to bring puniſhment, and to make examples to poſterity: But in this caſe let us bear much with her youth, much with her Nobility, much with the name of a Princeſs. As for mine own part, I am not one that thinks it alwaies good to uſe extream ſtrictneſs of law, no not in private, mean, and common perſons. But in a moſt heinous miſdeed, to diſſolve all force of law, and where is no meaſure of ill doing, there to deſcend beneath all meaſure in puniſhing, were the way to the undoing of all laws, and the overthrow of all humane ſociety. But in this one horrible Act is ſuch a hotchpotch of all abominable doings, ſuch an eagerneſs of all outragious cruelties, ſuch a forgetfulneſs of all natural affection, as nothing more can be feigned or imagined. I omit all former matters. I will not curiouſly enquire upon Princes doings, I will not weigh them by the common beam, I will not reſtrain them to common degrees of duties. If there be any thing that without great offence may be paſſed over, I will gladly leave it unſpoken of; If there be any thing that may receive excuſe, either by reſpect of age, or of woman-kind, yea or of unadviſedneſs, I will not urge it. And to paſs over all the reſt, two heinous offences there be, that neither according to their greatneſs be fully expreſſed, nor according to their outrage be ſufficiently puniſhed, I mean the violating of Matrimony, and of Royal Majeſty. For Matrimony (as the Apoſtle ſaith) doth truely contain a great myſtery. For as being obſerved, it compriſeth within it all inferiour kinds of duties, ſo being broken, it overthroweth them all. Whoſo hath miſuſed his father, ſeemeth to have caſt out of his heart all natural reverence: but for the huſbands ſake *one ſhall leave both Father and Mother*. Of all other duties, the degrees,

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or like obſervances, either are not at all in brute creatures, or not ſo plain to be diſcerned: but of matrimonial love, there is almoſt no living creature that hath not ſome feeling. This myſtery therefore whoſo not only violateth, but alſo deſpiſeth, he doth not onely overthrow all the foundations of humane fellowſhip, but, as much as in him lyeth, diſſolveth and confoundeth all order of nature. Whoſoever (I do not ſay) hurteth the KING, that is the true Image of God in earth, but ſlayeth him with ſtrange and unwonted ſort of cruelty, ſo as the untemperate and uncredible outragiouſneſs is not contented with ſimple torment, ſeemeth he not, as much as in him lyeth, to have a deſire to pull God out of Heaven? What refuge have they then left themſelves to mercy, that in ſatisfying their luſt of unjuſt hatred, have exceeded, not onely all meaſure of cruelty, but alſo all likelihood, that it can be credible.

But they will ſay, we ought to bear with, and ſpare her Nobility, Dignity and age. Be it ſo, if ſhe have ſpared him in whom all theſe reſpects were greater, or at leaſt equal; let the majeſty of Royal name avail her. How much it ought to avail to her preſerving, her ſelf hath ſhewed the example. May we commit our ſafety to her, who a Siſter, hath butcherly ſlaughtered her Brother, a Wife her Husband, a Queen her King? May we commit our ſafety to her, whom never ſhame reſtrained from unchaſtity, woman-kind from cruelty, nor religion from impiety? Shall we bear with her age, ſex and unadviſedneſs, that without all juſt cauſes of hatred, deſpiſed all theſe things in her Kinſman, her King, her Husband? She that hath ſought ſuch execution of her wrongful wrath, what ſhall we think ſhe will do being provoked by reproaches to men not knit to her by kindred, ſubject to her pleaſure, not matched with her in equal fellowſhip of life, but yeilded to her governance, and enthralled to her tormenting cruelty? when rage for interrupting her pleaſure, and out-rage of nature, ſtrengthened with armour of licentious Power ſhall ragingly triumph upon the Goods and Bloud of poor Subjects? What is then the fault wherof we are accuſed? What cruelty have we ſhewed? That a woman raging without meaſure and modeſty, and abuſing, to all her Subjects deſtruction, the force of her Power, that ſhe had received for their ſafety, we have kept under governance of her kinſmen and well-willing friends: and whom by right, we might for her heinous deeds have executed, her we have touched with no other puniſhment, but onely reſtrained her from doing more miſchief. For we deprived her not of Liberty, but of unbridled licentiouſneſs of evil doing. Wherein we more fear among all good men, the blame of too much lenity, than among evil men the ſlander of cruelty.

These were the causes that moved the Queen to this matter. *Bothwel* also had his reasons, which not a little troubled his mind. For when that same infamous acquital rather encreased, than abated the suspition, and the matter could not be alway kept close, he fleeth to his last refuge, to obtain of the Queen a pardon of all his offences. But when by the law of the land in such Charters of pardon, the greatest offence must be expressly mentioned, and the rest it sufficed to include in general words, and expresly to confess, the murder of the King seemed to stand neither with his honour, nor with his safety: he was driven of necessity either to invent or commit some other crime, either more grievous, or at the least as heinous, under which the slaughter of the King might lurk in shadow of general words unexpressed. They could devise none other but the same counterfeit ravishment of the Queen, whereby both the Queen provided for enjoying her pleasure, and *Bothwel*, for his safety.

MEmorandum, that in the Castle of *Edenburgh*, there was left by the Earl *Bothwel*, before his fleeing away, and was sent for by one *George Dagliſh* his servant, who was taken by the Earl *Moreton*, one small gilt Coffer, not fully a foot long, being garnished in sundry places with the *Roman* letter F. under a Kings Crown, wherein where certain Letters and writings well known, and by oaths to be affirmed, to have been written with the Queen of *Scots* own hand to the Earl *Bothwel*.

Beside those Writings, there was also extant a Writing written in *Roman* hand in French, to be avowed to be written by the said Queen of *Scots* her self, being a promise of Marriage to the said *Bothwel*: which writing being without date, and though some words therein seem to the contrary, yet is upon credible grounds supposed to have been made and written by her before the death of her Husband. The tenor whereof thus beginneth.

Nous Marie *par le grace de Dieu*, &c.

We Mary by the Grace of God, &c.

There is also another writing in Scotish, avowed to be wholly written by the Earl *Huntley*, dated the fifth of *April*, 1567. containing a form of Contract of Marriage betwixt the said Queen and Earl *Bothwel*, subscribed *Mary*, which is to be avowed to be the proper hand of the said Queen; and underneath it, *James* Earl *Bothwel*, which also is to be avowed to be the proper hand of the said Earl *Bothwel*, at which time he was commonly defamed of the King's slaughter, and not cleansed or acquit thereof before the thirteenth of *April* following. The tenor of which contract here ensueth. At

AT *Seyton*, the fifth of *April*, in the year of God. 1567. The right Excellent, right High and Mighty Princeſs *Mary*, by the grace of God Queen of *Scots*, conſidering the place and eſtate wherein Almighty God hath conſtituted her Highneſs, and how by the deceaſe of the King her Husband, her Majeſty is now deſtitute of a husband, living ſolitary in the ſtate of Widowhood; in the which kind of life her Majeſty moſt willingly would continue, if the will of her Realm and Subjects would permit it. But on the other part, conſidering the inconveniencies may follow, and the neceſſity which the Realm hath, that her Majeſty be coupled with an Husband, her Highneſs hath inclination to Marry. And ſeeing what incommodity may come to this Realm, in caſe her Majeſty ſhould joyn in Marriage with any Foreign Prince of a ſtrange Nation, her Highneſs has thought rather better to yield unto one of her own Subjects. Amongſt whom, her Majeſty finds none more able, nor endued with better qualities than the right Noble, and her dear Couſin *James*, Earl *Bothwel*, *&c.* Of whoſe thankful and true ſervice, her Highneſs in all times by-paſt has had large proof, and infallible experience. And ſeeing not only the ſame good mind conſtantly perſevering in him, but with that an inward affection, and hearty love towards her Majeſty, her Highneſs amongſt the reſt, hath made her choice of him. And therefore in the preſence of the Eternal God faithfully, and in the word of a Prince, by theſe preſents takes the ſaid *James* Earl *Bothwel* as her lawful Husband. And promiſes and obliges her Highneſs, that as ſoon as the Proceſs of divorſe intended betwixt the ſaid Earl *Bothwel* and Dame *Jane Gordon*, now his pretended Spouſe, be ended by the order of the Laws, her Majeſty ſhall God willing thereafter ſhortly Marry, and take the ſaid Earl to her Husband, and compleat the band of Matrimony with him in the face of Holy Church. And ſhall never Marry *any other Husband* but him only during his life time. And as her Majeſty of her gracious humanity, and proper motive, without deſerving of the ſaid Earl, hath thus inclined her favour and affection towards him, he humbly, and reverently acknowledging the ſame, according to his bounden duty, and being as free and able to make promiſe of Marriage, in reſpect of the ſaid Proceſs of divorce intended, for divers reaſonable cauſes, and that his ſaid pretended Spouſe hath thereunto conſented, he preſently takes her Majeſty as his Lawful Spouſe in the preſence of God. And promiſes and obligeth him, as he will anſwer to God, and upon his fidelity and Honour, that in all diligence poſſible, he ſhall proſecute and ſet forward the ſaid Proceſs of divorce already begun and intended betwixt him and the ſaid Dame *Jane Gordon* his pretended Spouſe, unto the final

Item to the Duke of Norfolk, *&c.*

end

end of a Decree and Declaration therein. And incontinent thereafter, at her Majesties good will and pleasure, and when her Highness thinks convenient, shall compleat and Solemnize in face of Holy Church the said band of Matrimony with her Majesty, and love, Honor, and serve her Highness, according to the place and Honor that it hath pleased her Majesty to accept him unto, and never to have any other to his Wife during her Majesties life time. In faith and witnessing whereof, her Highness, and the said Earl have subscribed this present faithful promise, with their hands, as followeth, Day, Year and place aforsaid, before these witnesses; *George*, Earl *Huntly*, and Master *Thomas Hepburn*, Parson of *Old-Hanstock*, &c.

Sic subscribetur, MARY R.

James Earl *Bothwel.*

Here note, that this Contract was made the fifth of *April*, within eight weeks after the Murther of the King, which was slain the tenth of *February* before. Also it was made seven days before that *Bothwel* was acquitted by corrupt judgment of the said Murder.

Also it appeareth by the words of the Contract if self, that it was made before sentence of Divorce between *Bothwel* and his former Wife. And also in very truth was made before any suit of Divorce, intended or begun between him and his former Wife, though some words in this Contract seem to say otherwise. Which is thus proved. For this Contract is dated the fifth of *April*, and it plainly appeareth by the judicial acts before the two several Ecclesiastical ordinary Judges, wherein is contained the whole Process of the Divorce between the said Earl, and Dame *Jane Gordon* his Wife, that one of the same Processes, was intended and begun the 26 day of *April*, and the other the 27 day.

Also there are extent the Records of the Justices Court holden at *Edenburgh* the said 12 day of *April*, some copies whereof have been exemplified and signed with the hand of *John Bellenden* Clerk of the Court, among which is the Endictment of *Bothwel*. The tenour of which Records, with the Affise and verdict do here follow.

Curia Justiciariæ S. D. N. *Reginæ, tenta & inchoata in prætorio de* Edinburgh *duodecimo die mensis* Aprilis, *Anno* 1567. *per nobilem & potentem Dominum Archibaldum Comitem* Ergadiæ, *Dominum* Campbel *&* Lorne *Justitiarium generalem ejusdem* S. D. N. *Reginæ, totius Regni sui ubilibet constitutum Sen. vocatum, & curia legitimè affirmata.*

IN the which Court, appeared personally in Judgment, Mr. *John Spens* of *Condie*, and *Robert Creycghton* of *Chock*, Advocates to our Sovereign

Sovereign Lady, in her name, and there the ſaid Mr. *John Spens* pro-duced our Sovereign Ladies Letter execute and indorſed, together with the Endictment; of the which Letters, indorſing thereof, and Endictment, the Tenors hereafter follow, that is to ſay,

MARY, by the Grace of God, Queen of Scots, to our truſty and well beloved, William Purwes, *Mr.* Lawſon, *and* Gawine Ramſey, *Meſſengers, our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtituted, Greeting. Forasmuch as it is humbly meant and ſhewed unto us, by our truſty and beloved Clerks and Counſellors, Mr.* John Spens *of* Condie, *and* Robert Creyeghton *of* Chock, *our Advocates: that whereas they are informed that our truſty Couſin and Counſellour,* Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *Father to the King our deareſt Spouſe, hath delated* James *Earl* Bothwel, *Lord* Halis *and* Creyeghton, *&c. and certain others, of the Treaſonable, cruel, odious, and abominable ſlaughter and Murder of his Grace, committed upon the ninth day of* February *laſt paſt, under ſilence of the night, within his lodging, for the time, within our Bower of* Edenburgh, *near the Church in the Field, upon proviſion, ſet purpoſe, and fore-thought Fellony. And hath declared unto us the ſuſpicion had of the ſaid Earl and others, as committers of the ſaid odious, cruel and abominable deed. Whereto we being moſt earneſtly bent, minded, and willing to have trial taken therein, by order of Juſtice, with all diligence and expedition poſſible, have with advice of the Lords of our ſecret Council, and alſo of the humble deſire of the ſaid Earl* Bothwel, *made in our and their preſence, who offereth himſelf willing to undergo the Trial of a condign Aſſiſe, according to the Laws of our Realm for declaring of this part, have ordained a Court of Juſtice, to be ſet and holden in the Tol-booth of* Edenburgh, *the* 12 *day of* April *next enſuing, for executing of Juſtice upon the ſaid Earl, and otherwiſe, for the cruel, odious, foul, and abominable crime and offence: as is more at large contained in an Act made in the Books of our ſecret Council thereupon.*

Our will therefore is, and we Charge you ſtrictly, and command, that immediately, at the ſight of theſe our letters, ye go, and in our name and Authority, warn the ſaid Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *perſonally, or at his dwelling place, and all other our liege People having or pretending to have intereſt in the ſaid matter by open Proclamation at the Market-croſſes of our Burrows of* Edenburgh, Dunbarton, Glaſcow, Lanerk, *and other places needful, to appear before our Juſtice, or his deputies, in our Tol-booth of* Edenburgh, *the ſaid* 12. *day of* April *next enſuing, to purſue and concur with us in the ſaid action: with certification to them, that if they fail, that our Juſtice or his Deputies, will proceed and do Juſtice in the ſaid matter the ſaid day, conformable to the Laws and Conſtitutions of our Realm, without any longer delay or continuation: and that ye ſummon an Aſſiſe to this end, every perſon under the pain of forty Pounds, as ye will anſwer to us thereupon. The which*

to do, we commit to you, jointly and ſeverally, our full power by theſe our Letters, delivering them by you duly to be executed, and indorſed again to the bearer.

Given under our Signet at Edenburgh, *the* 27 *of* March, *in the* 25 *year of our Reign.* 1567.

Ex deliberatione Dominorum Concilii Reg.

Sic ſubſcribitur, MARY.

Indorſments of the ſaid Letters.

UPon the 29 day of *March*, in the year of God 1567. I *William Purwes* meſſenger, one of the Sheriffs in that part within conſtituted, paſt at command of theſe our Sovereign Ladies Letters, and in her Graces Name and Authority, warned *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and all other her Majeſties lieges having or pretending to have intereſs in the matter within ſpecified, by open Proclamation at the Market-croſs of the Burrough of *Edenburgh*, to appear before the Juſtice or his Deputies in the Tol-booth of *Edenburgh* the 12 day of *April* next enſuing, to purſue and concur with our ſaid Sovereign Lady in the action within mentioned, with certification as is within expreſſed, after the form and tenour of theſe Letters, whereof I affix'd one copy upon the ſaid Market-croſs. This I did before theſe witneſſes, *John Anderſon* and *David Lant*, with divers others. And for more witneſſing to this my execution and indorſment, my Signet is affixed.

UPon the laſt day of *March*, the firſt and ſecond days of *April*, in the year of God above written; I *Gowine Ramſy* Meſſenger, one of the Sheriffs in that part within conſtituted, paſt at commandment of theſe our Sovereign Ladies Letters, and in her Graces Name and Authority, warned the ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, at his dwelling places in *Glaſcow* and *Dunbarton* reſpectively, becauſe I ſearched, and ſought, and could not apprehend him perſonally, and all other her Majeſties lieges, having and pretending to have Intereſt to purſue in the matter herein expreſſed, by Proclamation at the Market-Croſſes of the Burroughs of *Glaſcow*, *Dunbarton*, and *Lanerk*, for to appear before the Juſtice or his Deputies in the ſaid Tol-booth of *Edenburgh*, the ſaid twelfth day of *April* next to come, to purſue and concur with our ſaid Sovereign Lady in the action within written, with

with certification, as is within mentioned, after the form and tenor of these Letters, whereof affixed one copy upon every one of the said Market-Crosses. This I did before these Witnesses, *George Herbesoun*, *Nicholas Audro*, *Robert Letrik*, Messenger, *William Smollet*, *David Robertson*, *James Smollet*, *John Hammelton*, *James Bannatine*, and *Robert Hammelton*, with divers others. And for more witnessing hereof, my signet is affixed; Subscribed with my hand, *Gawin Ramsy*, Messenger.

UPon the first day of *April*. The year of God 1567. I *William Lawson*, Messenger, Sheriff in that part within constituted, past at command of these our Sovereign Ladies Letters, to the Market-Cross of *Perth*, and there by open Proclamation lawfully warned *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and all others our Sovereign Ladies Leiges, having, or pretending to have interests to pursue *James* Earl *Bothwel*, Lord *Halis*, and *Creyghton*, &c. and certain others, for the cruel slaughter and murther of the King's Grace, and affixed one Copy upon the said Crosses, after the form and tenor of these Letters. And this I did before these Witnesses, *James Marschel*, *Alex. Borthwike*, and *John Anderson*, Messengers, with divers others. And for the more witnessing of this my Execution and Indorsment, I have subscribed this with my hand, *Will. Lawson*, Messenger.

The Indictment.

JAmes *Earl* Bothwell, *Lord* Halis, *and* Creyghton, *&c. You are Indicted for acting part of the cruel, odious, treasonable and abominable Slaughter and Murther of the late, the right Excellent, right high and mighty Prince, the King's Grace, dearest Spouse, for the time, to our Sovereign Lady the Queens Majesty, under silence of Night, in his own Lodging, besides the Church in the Field within this Burrow, he being taking the Nights rest, treasonably raising fire within the same, with a great quantity of Powder; through force of the which, the said whole Lodging was raised, and blown in the Air; and the said late King was murthered treasonably and most cruelly slain and destroyed by you therein upon set purpose, provision, and forethought Felony. And this you did upon the Ninth day of* February *last past, under silence of the Night, as above said; as is notoriously known, the which you cannot deny.*

Upon the which Production of the aforesaid Letters executed, indorsed and Indicted, the said Advocate asked an Act of Court and Instruments, and desired of the Justice Process agreeable thereto.

The said Letters being openly read in Judgment, with the Indorsments thereof, the Justice by vertue of the same, caused to be called the said *James* Earl *Bothwell*, as Defendant on the one part, and *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and all others our Sovereign Ladies Liege People, having or pretending to pursue in the said matter, to appear before him in this Court of Justice, to pursue and defend according to the Law.

Immediately after there appeared in Judgment, the ſaid *James* Earl *Bothwell*, and entered perſonally, and then made choice of Mr. *David Borthuik* of *Luchthil*, and Mr. *Edmund Hay* to be Prelocutors for him, who alſo appeared perſonally in Judgment, and were admitted by the Juſtice to that effect.

There alſo appeared Mr. *Henry Kinrof*, alledging to be Proctor for *Andrew* Maſter of *Errole*, and produced in Judgment the Writing and Proteſtation under written, deſiring the ſame to be regiſtred and inſerted in the Books of Adjournal, the tenor whereof followeth.

The ſame day appeared Mr. *Henry Kinrof* Proctor for *Andrew* Maſter of *Errole*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and alledged that the Conſtables for the time, of this Realm, hath been at all times by paſt only Judges competent to all ſuch Perſons as have been accuſed criminally, for committing of Slaughter, Murther, or of Blood drawing near to the Princes Chamber, or within four Miles of the ſame. And therefore the ſaid Maſter now being Conſtable of this Realm, ought and ſhould be the competent Judge to *James* Earl *Bothwell*, and others his alledged Complices called this day, and to be accuſed for acting any part of the alledged Cruelty, treaſonable ſlaughter of the late *Henry* King of *Scots*. And in caſe *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, as Chief Juſtice of this Realm, or his Deputies proceed in the ſaid Cauſe, the ſaid Maſter *Henry* Proctor aforeſaid proteſteth ſolemnly, that the ſame proceeding therein, ſhall in no wiſe hurt, nor prejudice the ſaid Conſtable in his Office, Rights, title of Rights, Intereſts, Juriſdiction, or Inveſtment thereof in any ſort, but that he may uſe and exerciſe his ſaid Juriſdiction in all ſuch Caſes in times coming, conform to his Inveſtment of the ſaid Office, and uſe of Cognoſcing uſed by his Predeceſſors, and before him in like Cauſes. All which time he makes it known, either by Inveſtment or other ways ſufficiently him to have Juriſdiction in ſuch Cauſes. And deſires the ſame Proteſtation to be inſerted in the Book of Adjournal, and admit it under Proteſtation, that he affirm not the Lord Juſtice Juriſdiction in any ſort in proceeding in the ſaid matter.

The Juſtice, being adviſed with the ſaid Alledgeance and Proteſtation, found by Interlocutor, and ordained that Proceſs ſhould be laid by him in this matter, notwithſtanding the ſame, in reſpect that nothing was ſhewn by the ſaid Mr. *Henry*, to verifie the Contents of the ſaid Alledgeance and Proteſtation. Whereupon the ſaid Earl *Brothwell* asked a Note of Court and Inſtrument.

The ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and others our Sovereign Ladies Lieges, having or pretending to have Intereſt to purſue in the ſaid matter, being oftentimes called, to have appeared and concurred with the ſaid Advocates, in purſuing of the ſaid Action, *Robert Cunningham* appeared, alledging him Servant to the ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and produced the Writing under written, which he ſubſcribed with his hand in Judgment; as he that had power to uſe the ſame, and proteſted it, and deſired to conform thereto in all points. Of the which Writing the tenor follows.

My

MY Lords, I am come here, ſent by my Maſter my Lord of Lenox, *to declare the cauſe of his abſence this day, and with his power as the ſame bears. The cauſe of his abſence is the ſhortneſs of time; and that he is denied of his Friends and Servants, who ſhould have accompanied him to his honor and ſecurity of his life, in reſpect of the greatneſs of his Party, and he having aſſiſtance of no Friends but only himſelf. And therefore his L. commanded me to deſire a ſufficient Day, according to the weight of the Cauſe, therefore he may keep the ſame. And if your L. will proceed at this preſent, I proteſt that I may without any diſpleaſure of any man uſe theſe things committed to my Charge by my Lord my Maſter: Whereof I take a Document.*

Item, *I proteſt, that if the Perſons who paſs upon Aſſize and Inqueſt of theſe Perſons that ſhall enter on pannal this day, clear the ſaid Perſons of the Murther of the King, that it ſhall be wilful Error and not Ignorance, by reaſon that it is notoriouſly known thoſe Perſons to be the Murtherers of the King, as my Lord my Maſter alledges, upon the which Proteſtation I require a Document.* Sic Subſcribitur,

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

Upon the Production of the which Writing and Proteſtation, the ſaid *Robert* asked Acts and Inſtruments.

The Juſtice, being adviſed with the aforeſaid Writing and Proteſtation produced, and uſed by the ſaid *Robert Cunningham* in reſpect of the Letters and Writings ſent to our Sovereign by the ſaid *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, produced it, and read it in a Court, whereof the Copies are under written. By the which Letters and Writings, the ſaid Earl of *Lenox* deſired a ſhort and ſummary Proceſs to be deduced in the ſaid matter, and alſo of the Act and Ordinance of the Lords of the ſecret Council granted thereupon, and ſuch like in reſpect of the earneſt inſiſting of the Advocates, deſiring Proceſs and right Suit of the ſaid Earl *Bothwel*'s earneſt Petition and Deſire of a Tryal to be had in the ſaid matter, with the Advice of the Lords and Barons aſſeſſors preſent, and by an Interlocutor, that Proceſs ſhould be deduced in the ſaid Action this day, according to the Laws of this Realm, notwithſtanding the Writing and Proteſtation produced by the ſaid *Robert Cunningham*, and likewiſe admit him to concur and aſſiſt the ſaid Advocates in the purſuance of the ſaid Action, if he pleaſed.

Here followeth the Copies of the Letters and Writings ſent to the Queens Majeſty, by the ſaid Earl of *Lenox*.

I Render moſt humble thanks unto your Majeſty for your Gracious and Comfortable Letter, which I received the 24th day of this inſtant. And whereas I perceive by the ſame, that it is your Majeſties pleaſure to remit the Tryal of this late odious Act to the time of a Parliament. May it pleaſe your Majeſty, altho I am aſſured your Highneſs thinks the time as long as I do till the matter be tried, and the Authors of the Deed condignly puniſhed; yet I ſhall humbly crave your Majeſties pardon in troubling your Highneſs ſo oft therein as I do, for the matter toucheth me ſo near, I

beſeech your Majeſty, moſt humbly to accept this my ſimple Advice in good part, as follows: Which is, that whereas the time is long to the Parliament, this matter not being a Parliament matter, but of ſuch weight and validity, which ought rather to be with all expedition and diligence ſought out and puniſhed, to the Example of the whole World, as I know your Majeſties Wiſdom conſiders the ſame far more than my Wits can comprehend, yet forasmuch as I hear of certain Tickets that have been put on the Tol-booth Door of Edenburgh, anſwering your Majeſties firſt and ſecond Proclamations, which mentions in ſpecial, the names of certain Perſons, deviſers of the cruel Murther, I ſhall therefore moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, for the love of God, the Honor of your Majeſty, your Realm, and the Weal and Tranquillity thereof, that it would pleaſe your Majeſty forthwith, not only to apprehend and put in ſure keeping the Perſons named in the ſaid Tickets, but alſo with diligence, to aſſemble your Majeſties Nobility, and then by open Proclamation, to admoniſh and require the Writers of the ſaid Tickets to appear according to the effect thereof; at the which time, if they do not, your Majeſty, may by advice of your Nobility and Council, relieve and ſet at liberty the Perſons named in the Ticket aforeſaid. So ſhall your Majeſty do an honorable and godly Act in bringing the matter to ſuch a narrow point as either the matter ſhall appear plainly before your Majeſty, to the puniſhment of thoſe who have been the Authors of this cruel Deed, or elſe the ſaid Tickets found vain in their ſelves, and the Perſons which are ſlandered to be exonerated and ſet at liberty at your Majeſties pleaſure. So I commit your Majeſty to the Protection of Almighty God, to preſerve you in Health, and moſt happy Reign. Of Howſtoun the 26th Day of February.

MAy it pleaſe your Majeſty, where your Highneſs in your laſt Letter writes to me, that if there be any Names in the Tickets, that were affixt upon the Tolbooth Door of Edinburgh, that I think worthy to ſuffer a Tryal for the Murther of the King your Majeſties Husband, upon my Adverti ſement, your Majeſty ſhould proceed to the Cognition taken, as may ſtand with the Laws of this Realm, and being found culpable, ſhall ſee the puniſhment as rigorouſly executed as the weight of the Crime deſerves. May it pleaſe your Majeſty, ſince the receipt of your Highneſſes Letter, I have ſtill looked that ſome of the bloody Murtherers ſhould have been openly known ere now. And ſeeing they are not yet, I cannot find in my heart to conceal the matter any longer, but let your Majeſty underſtand the names of them whom I greatly ſuſpect, that is to ſay, the Earl Bothwel, Mr. James Balfor, and Gilbert Balfor his Brother, Mr. David Chamer, Blackmaſter, John Spens, Senior Francis, Baſtian, John the Burdeavix, and Joſeph David's Brother. Which Perſons I moſt intirely and humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that according to my former Petition unto your Highneſs, it will pleaſe, not only to apprehend and put in ſure keeping, but as with diligence to aſſemble your Majeſties whole Nobility and Council, and then to take ſuch perfect order of the afore-named Perſons, that they may be juſtly tryed, as I doubt not but in ſo doing the Spirit of God ſhall work in the ſaid matter, that the truth ſhall be known. So ſhall your Majeſty do a moſt godly and honorable Act, for

your

your self being the Party as you are, a great Satisfaction it shall be to all that belongs unto him that is gone, who was so dear unto your Highness. And now, not doubting but your Majesty will take order in the matter according to the weight of the Cause, which I most humbly beseech, I commit your Majesty to the Protection of the Almighty God, who preserve you in Health, long Life, and most happy Reign. Of *Howstoun* this Seventeenth of *March*.

Assizes.

Andro Earl of *Rothes*,	*Laurence* Lord *Oliphant*,
George Earl of *Caithnes*,	*John* Master of *Forvess*,
Gilbert Earl of *Cassillis*,	*John Gordon* of *Lothinware*,
Lord *John Hamilton*, Commander of *Arbroycht*, Son to the Lord Duke.	*Robert* Lord *Boyd*,
	James Cokbourn of *Launton*,
James Lord *Rosse*,	*John Somervile* of *Cambusnethan*,
Robert Lord *Sunple*,	*Mowbray* of *Bern Buxal*,
John Maxwell Lord *Hereif*,	*Ogilby* of *Boyn*.

THe fore-named Persons of Assize being chosen, admitted and sworn in Judgment, as the use is. And therefore the said Earl *Bothwell* being accused by the said Dictate of the Crime aforesaid, and the same being denied by him, and referred to the deliverance of the said Assize, they removed out of the said Court, and all together convened, and after long reasoning had by them upon the same Dictate and Points thereof, they and eke one of them for themselves voted, delivered, and acquit the said *James* Earl *Bothwell* of act and part of the said slaughter of the King, and Points of the said Dictate.

And since the said *George* Earl of *Caithnes*, Chancellor of the said Assizes in his and their Names asked Instruments, that neither the said Advocates, nor the said *Robert Cunningham* as have had Commission of my Lord of *Lenox*, nor no other brought into them any Writing, Token, or Verification, whereby the Dictate above written might be forfeit, nor the said Assize perswaded to deliver any otherwise, than is above written. Nor yet was the said Dictate sworn, nor no Party, except the said Advocates, competent to pursue the same, and therefore in respect that they delivered according to their knowledge, protests that they should incur no wilful Error in any wise hereafter. Which Instrument and Protestation immediately after the re-entry of the said Earl of *Caithnes* Chancellor, and one part of the named of the said Persons of Assize in the said Court of Justiciary, before the Pronunciation of their Deliverance aforesaid at the desire of the said Earl of *Caithnes* was openly read in Judgment. And thereupon he of new asked Acts and Instruments, and protesteth in manner above expressed.

EXtractum de libro Actorum Adjournalis S. D. N. Reginæ: Per me Joannem Bellencen de Auchnoule militem, clericum justiciariæ ejusdem generalem. Sub meis signo & subscriptione mannalibus.

Joannes Bellenden *Clericus Justiciariæ*.

Note,

Note, That at the ſame time Proteſtation was made by *George* Earl of *Caithnes*, Chancellor of the ſaid Aſſize, that the ſaid Dictate or Indictment was not in this point true, *viz.* in alledging the Murther to be committed the 5th day of *February*, for that indeed the Murther was committed the next day being the 10th Day in the Morning, at two hours after Mid-night, which in Law was and ought to be truly accounted the 10th Day, and ſo the Acquittal that way but cavillingly defended.

The Writings and Letters found in the ſaid Caſket, which are avowed to be written with the *Scottiſh* Queens own hand.

Certain *French* Sonnets written by the Queen of *Scots* to *Bothwell*, before her marriage with him, and (as it is ſaid) while her Husband lived; but certainly before his Divorce from his Wife, as the words themſelves ſhew, before whom ſhe here preferreth her ſelf in deſerving to be beloved of *Bothwell*.

O Dieux ayez de moy compaſſion,
Et m' enſeignez quelle preuve certain
Je puis donner qui ne luy ſemble vain
De mon amour & ferme affection.
Las! n' eſt il pas ja en poſſeſſion
Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuſe pain
Ny diſhonneur, en la vie incertain,
Offenſe de parents, ne pire affliction?
Pour luy tous mes ames j' eſtimemoins que rien,
Et de mes ennemis je veux eſperer bien.
J' ay hazardé pour luy & nom & conſcience:
Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
Je veux mourir pour luy au ſurplus.
Eue reſte il plus pour prouver ma conſtance?
Entre ſes mains & en ſon plein pouvoir
Je metz mon filz, mon honneur, & may vie,
Mon pais, mes ſubjectz mon ame aſſubjectie
Eſt tout à luy, & n' ay autoe vaulloir
Pour mon object que ſans le decovoir
Suiure je veux malgré toute l' envie
Qu' iſſir en peult, Car je n' autre e vie
Que de ma foy, luy faire appercevoir
Que pour tempeſte ou bonnace qui face.
Jamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.
Brief je feray de ma foy telle preuve,
Qu' il cognoiſtra ſans fainte ma conſtance,
Non parmes pleurs ou fainte obeyſſance,
Comme autres ont fait, mais par divers eſpreuve.

Elle pour ſon honneur vous doibt obeyſſance
Moy vous obeyſſant i' in puis recevoir blaſme,
N' eſtat, à mo regret, comme elle voſtre femme.
Et ſi n' aura pour tant an ce point préeminence.
Pour ſon profit elle uſe de conſtance,
Carce n'eſt peu d'honneur d'eſtre de voz biens dame
Et moy pour vois aimer j' en puis recevoir blaſme
Et ne luy veux beder en toute l' obſervance
Elle de voſtre mal n' à l' apprehenſion
Moy je n'ay nul repos tant je crains l' apparence
Par l'aduis des parentz, elle ent veſtre accointance
Moy maugré tous les mines vous porte affection
Et de ſa loyaute prenez ferme aſſeurance.

Par vous mon cœur & par voſtre alliance
Elle à remis ſa maiſon en honneur
Elle à jovy par vous la grandeur
Dont tous les ſiens n' ayent nul aſſeurance
De vous mon bien elle à eu la conſtance,
Et a gaigné pour un temps voſtre cœur,
Par vous elle á eu plaiſſren bon heur,
Et pour vous à receu honneur & reverence,
Et n' à per lu fin on la joviſſance
D' un faſcheux ſot qu' elle aymoit cherement,
Je ne la playns d' aymer donc ardamment,
Celuy qui n' à en ſens, ny en vaillance,
En beautê, en bonte. ny en conſtance
Point de ſeconde. Je vis en ceſte foy.

Quant vous l' amioz, elle uſoit de freideur.
Sy vous ſouffriez, pour s' amour paſſion
Qui vient d' aymer de trop d' affection,
Son doig monſtroit, la triſteſſe de cœur
N' ayant pliſir de voſtre grand ardeur
En ſes habitz, monſtroit ſans fiction
Qu' ellen' avoit paour qu' imperfection
Peuſt l' effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.
De voſtre mort je ne vis la peaun
Que meritoit tel Mary & ſeigneur.
Comme de vous elle à eu tout ſon bien
Et n' à priſé ny jamais eſtimé
Un ſi grand heur ſi non puis qu' il n' eſt ſien
Et maintenant dit l' avoir tant aymé.

Et maintenant elle commence à voir
Qu' olle eſtoit bien de mauvais jugement

De n' eſtimer l' amour d' un tel amant
Et voudroit bien mon amy decevoir
Par les eſcriptz tout ſardez de ſcavoir
Qui pourtant n' eſt en ſon eſprit croiſſant
Ains emprunté de quelque autheur luiſſant.
A faint tresbien un envoy ſans l' avoir
Et toutesfois ſes parolles ſardez,
Ses pleurs, ſes plaincts remplis de fictions,
Et ſes hauts cris & lamentations,
Ont tant gaigné qui par vous ſont gardez,
Ses lettres eſcriptes auſquelles vous donnez foy
Et ſi l' aymez & croyez plus que moy.

Vous la croyez, las! trop je l' appercoy
Et vous doutez, de ma ferme conſtance,
O mon ſeul bien & mon ſeul eſperience,
Et ne vous puis je aſſeurer de ma foy
Vous m' eſtimez leger que je voy,
Et ſi n' avez en moy nul aſſeurance,
Et ſoupconnez mon cœur ſans apparence,
Vous deffiant à trop grand tort de moy.
Vous ignorez l' amour que je vous porte,
Vous ſoupconnez qu' autre amour me tranſporte,
Vous eſtimez mes parolles du vent,
Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,
Vous me penſez femme ſans jugement.
Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

Mon amour croiſt & plus en plus croiſtra
Tant que je viuray, & tiendray à grandheur.
Tant ſeulement d' avoir part en ce cœur
Vers qui en fin mon amour perſiſtra
Si tres à clair que jamais n' en en doutra.
Pour luy je veux rechercher la grandeur,
Et feray tant qu' en vray cognoiſtra,
Que je n' ay bien, heur, ne contentement,
Qu' à l' obeyr & ſervir loyaument.
Pour luy jattend toute bonne fortune.
Pour luy je veux garder ſanté & vie.
Pour luy tout uertu de ſuiure j' ay envie,
Ee ſans changer me trouvera tout' une.

Pour luy auſſi je jette maintes larmes.
Premier quand il ſe fiſt de ce corps poſſeſſeur,

Du quel alors il n' avoit pas le cœur.
Puis me donna un autre dur alarme,
Quand il verſa de ſon ſang mainte dragme,
Dont de grief il me vint laiſſer doleur;
Qui m' en penſa oſter la vie, & frayeur
De perdre las! le ſeul rempar qui m' arme.
Pour luy depuis jay meſpriſe l' honneur
Ce qui nous peult ſeul pourvoir de bonheur.
Pour luy j' ay hazardé grandeur & conſcience.
Pour luy tous mes parentz j' ay quite, & amis,
Et tous autres reſpectz ſont apart mis,
Brief de vous ſeul je cherche l' alliance.

De vous je dis ſeul ſouſtein de ma vie
Tant ſeulement je cherche m' aſſeurer,
Et ſi oſe de moy tant preſumer
De vous gaigner maugré toute l' envie.
Car c' eſt le ſeul deſir de voſtre chere amie,
De vous ſervir & loyaument aymer,
Et tous malheurs moins que rien eſtimer,
Et voſtre volonte de lamien ne ſujure.
Vous cognoſtrez avecques obeyſſance
De mon loyal devoir n' omittant laſcience
A quoy je eſtudieray pour touſiours vous complaire
Sans aymer rien que vous, ſoubz la ſubjection:
De qui je veux ſans nulle fiction
Viure & mourir & à ce j' obtempere.

Mon cœur, mon ſang, mon ame, & mon ſoucy
Las, vous m' avez promis qu' aurons ce plaiſir
De deviſer avecques vous à loyſir,
Toute la nuict, ou je languis jey,
Ayant le cœur d' extreme paour tranſy,
Pour voir abſent le but de mon deſir
Crainte d' oublier un coup me vient à ſaiſir:
Et l' autre fois je crains que rendurcie
Soit contra moy voſtre amiable cœur
Par quelque dit d' un meſchant ramporteur.
Un autre fois je crains quelque aventure
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par un faſcheux & nouveau accident.
Dieu detourne toute malheureux augure.

Ne vous voyant ſelon qu' avez promis
J' ay mis la main au papier pour eſcrire

D'un different que je voulu transcrire.
Je ne scay pas qael sera vostre aduis
Mais Je scay bien qui mieux aymer scaura,
Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.

O Goddess have of me Compassion,
And shew what certain Proof
I may give, which shall not seem to him vain,
Of my Love and fervent Affection.
He alas, is he not already in possession
Of my Body, of Heart, that refuses no pain?
Nor Dishonour in this life uncertain,
Offence of Friends, nor worse affliction,
For him I esteem all my Friends less than nothing,
And I will have good hope of my enemies.
I have put in hazard for him both Fame and Conscience,
I will for his sake renounce the World,
I will die to set him forward.
What remaineth to give proof of my Conscience?

In his hands and in his full power,
I put my Son, my Honour, and my Life,
My Country, my Subjects, my Soul, all subdued
To him, and has none other will
For my scope, which without deceit,
I will follow in spite of all Envie
That may ensue: for I have no other desire,
But to make him perceive my faithfulness,
For storm or fair weather that may come,
Never will it change Dwelling, or Place.
Shortly I shall give of my truth such proof,
That he shall know my Constancy without fiction,
Not by my Weeping, or feigned Obedience,
As other have done; but by other experience.

She for her Honour oweth you Obedience:
I in obeying you may receive Dishonour,
Not being (to my Displeasure) your Wife as she
And yet in this point she shall have no Preheminence.
For it is no little Honour to be Mistris of your Goods,
And I for loving of you may receive blame,
And I will not be overcome by her in loyal Observance.
She has no apprehension of your Evil,
I fear so all appearing evil that I can have no rest,

She had your acquaintance by consent of her Friends,
Against all their Will have born you Affection,
And not the less (my Heart) you doubt of my Constancy,
And of her Faithfulness you have firm assurance.

By you (my Heart) and by your alliance
She hath restored her House unto Honour,
By you she is become to that Greatness,
Of which her Friends had never assurance,
Of you (my Wealth) she got the Acquaintance,
And hath conquered the same time your Heart.
By you she hath Pleasure and good luck,
And by you hath received Honour and Reverence,
And hath not lost but the enjoying
Of one unpleasant Fool which she loved dearly.
Then I moan her not to love ardently
Him that hath none in Wit, in Manhood,
In Beauty, in Bounty, in Truth, nor in Constancy,
Any second: I live in the belief.

When you loved her she used coldness,
If you suffer for her love passion.
That cometh of too great Affection of life,
Her Sadness shews the Dolour of her Heart,
Taking no pleasure of your vehement Burning,
In her cloathing she shews unfeignedly,
That she had no fear, that Imperfection
Could deface her out of that true heart.
I did not see in her the Fear of your Death,
That was worthy of such a Husband and Lord.
Shortly she hath of you all her Wealth.
And hath never weighed nor esteemed
On so great hap, but since it was not hers,
And now she saith that she loveth him so well.

And now she beginneth to see,
That she was of very evil Judgment,
To esteem the Love of such a Lover,
And would fain deceive my Love.
By Writings and painted Learning,
Which not the less did not breed in her brain,
But borrowed from some feat Author,
To feign one Story and have none.
And for all that her painted Words,

Her Tears, her Plaints full of dissimulation,
And her high Cries and Lamentations
Hath won that Point, that you keep in store,
Her Letters and Writings, to which you give trust,
Yea, and lovest and believest her more than me.

You believe her (alas) I perceive it too well,
And callest in doubt my firm Constancy
(O mine only Wealth, and mine only Hope)
And I cannot assure you of my truth.
I see that you esteem me light,
And be no way assured of me,
And doest suspect (my Heart) without any appearing cause,
Discrediting me wrongfully.
You do not know the Love I bear to you,
You suspect that other Love transporteth me.
You think my Words be but wind:
You paint my very Heart, as it were of wax,
You imagine me a Woman without Judgment.
And all that increaseth my burning.

My Love increaseth, and more and more will increase,
So long as I shall live, and I shall hold for a great Felicity
To have only part in that Heart,
To which at length my Love shall appear,
So clearly, that he shall never doubt,
For him I will strive against one World,
For him I will renounce greatness,
And shall do so much that he shall know
That I have no Wealth, Hap, nor Contentation,
But to obey and serve him truly.
For him I attend all good Fortune.
For him I will conserve Health and Life.
For him I desire to ensue Courage,
And he shall ever find me unchangeable.

For him also I powred out many Tears,
First when he made himself Possessor of this Body,
Of the which then he had not the Heart.
After he did give me one other hard Charge,
When he bled of his Blood great quantity,
Through the great Sorrow of the which came to me that dolour,
That almost carried away my Life, and the Fear
To lose the only Strength that armed me,

For

For him since I have despised Honour,
The thing only that bringeth Felicity.
For him I have hazarded Greatness and Conscience.
For him I have forsaken all Kindred and Friends,
And set aside all other Respects,
Shortly, I seek the Alliance of you only.

Of you I say the only upholder of my Life,
I only seek to be assured,
Yea, and dare presume so much of my self,
To win you in spite of all Envie:
For that is the only Desire of your dear love,
To serve and love you truly,
And to esteem all this Hap less than nothing,
And to follow your Will with mine,
You shall know with Obedience,
Not forgetting the knowledge of my loyal Duty,
The which I shall study to the end that I may ever please you,
Loving nothing but you, in the Subjection
Of whom I will without any fiction,
Live and die, and this I consent.

My Heart, my Blood, my Soul, my Care,
Alas you had promised that I should have that Pleasure,
To devise with you at leisure.
All the Night where I lie and languish here,
My Heart being overset with extreme Fear
Seeing absent the Summ of my desire.
Fear of forgetting sometime taketh me,
And other Times I fear that loving Heart,
Be not hardened against me
By some saying of some wicked Reporter.
Other Times I fear some Adventure,
That by the way should turn back my Love
By some troublesome and new Accident.
O God turn back all unhappy Augure.

Not seeing you as you had promised,
I put my Hand to the Paper to write,
Of one difference that I have will it copie.
I cannot tell what shall be your Judgment,
But I know well who can best love,
You can tell who shall win most.

A Letter written by her from *Glaſcoe* to *Bothwell*, proving her Hate to her Husband, and ſome ſuſpicions of practiſing his Death, which Letter was written in *French*, and here enſueth, tranſlated word for word.

IL ſemble qu' avecques voſtre abſence ſoit joynt l' oubly, veu qu' au partir vous me promiſtes de vos novelles. Et toutes foys je n' en puis apprendre, &c.

IT appears, that with your abſence there is alſo joyned forgetfulneſs, ſeeing that at your departing you promiſed to make me Advertiſement of your News from time to time. The waiting upon them yeſterday, cauſed me to be almoſt in ſuch Joy as I will be at your returning, which you have delayed longer than your promiſe was. As to me, howbeit, I have no further News from you according to my Commiſſion, I bring the Man with me to *Cragmiller* upon *Monday*, where he will be all *Wedneſday*, and I will go to *Edenburgh* to draw Blood of me, if, in the mean time, I get no News to the contrary from you. He is more Gay than ever you ſaw him, he puts me in remembrance of all things that may make me believe he loves me. Perhaps you will ſay that he makes love to me: Of the which I take ſo great pleaſure, that I enter never where he is, but incontinent I take the ſickneſs of my ſore Side, I am ſo troubled with it. If *Pareis* brings me that which I ſend him for, I truſt it ſhall amend me. I pray you advertiſe me of your News at length, and what I ſhall do, in caſe you be not returned when I am come there, for in caſe you work not wiſely I ſee that the whole burden of this will fall upon my Shoulders. Provide for all things, and Diſcourſe upon it firſt with your ſelf. I ſend this by *Betoun*, who goes to one day of Law of the Lord of *Belſours*. I will ſay no further, ſaving I pray you to ſend me good News of your Voyage. From *Glaſcoe* this *Saturday* in the Morning.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* concerning the Hate of her Husband, and Practice of his Murther.

ESTant party du lieu ou j' avois laiſſé mon cœur il ſe peult ayſémente juger quelle eſtoit ma contenance, veu ce qui peult un corps ſans cœur, qui à eſté cauſe que juſques à la diſnée je n' ay pas tenu grand propos, auſſi perſonne ne s' eſt voulu advancer jugeant bien qu' il n' y faiſoit bon, &c.

BEing departed from the place where I left my heart, it is eaſie to be judged what was my countenance, ſeeing that I was even as much as one body without a heart, which was the occaſion that while dinner time I held purpoſe to no body, nor yet durſt any preſent themſelves unto me, judging

ing that it was not good ſo to do. Four miles ere I came to the Town, one Gentleman of the Earl of *Lenox* came and made his Commendations unto me, and excuſed him that he came not to meet me, by reaſon that he durſt not enterpriſe the ſame, becauſe of the rude words that I had ſpoken to *Cunningham*, and he deſired that he ſhould come to the Inquiſition of the matter that I ſuſpected him of. This laſt ſpeaking was of his own head without any Commiſſion. I anſwered to him that there was no receit could ſerve againſt fear, and that he would not be afraid in caſe he were not culpable; and that I anſwered but rudely to the doubts that were in his Letters. So that I made him hold his Tongue. The reſt were too long to write. Sir *James Hamilton* met me, who ſhewed that the other time, when he heard of my coming, he departed away, and ſent *Houſton* to ſhew him that he would never have believed that he would have purſued him, nor yet accompanied him with the *Hamiltons*. He anſwered, that he was only come but to ſee me, and that he would neither accompany *Stewart* nor *Hamilton*, but by my Commandment. He deſired that he would come and ſpeak with him; he refuſed it. The Lord of *Luſe*, *Hounſton* and *Cauldwellis* his Son, with forty Horſe or thereabout came and met me. The Lord of *Luſe* ſaid that he was charged to one day of Law, by the King's Father, which ſhould be this day, againſt his own hand writing, which he has. And yet notwithſtanding, knowing of my coming it is delayed, he was inquired to come to him, which he refuſed, and ſwears that he will endure nothing of him. Never one of that Town came to ſpeak to me, which cauſes me to think that they are his, and nevertheleſs he ſpeaks good, at the leaſt his Son. I ſee no other Gentleman but they of my company. The King ſent for *Joachim* yeſternight, and asked of him, why I lodged not beſide him, and that he would riſe the ſooner if that were, and wherefore I come, if it was for good Appointment, and if you were there in particular, and if I had made my Eſtate, if I had taken *Paris* and *Gilbert* to write to me, and that I would ſend *Joſeph* away. I am abaſhed who hath ſhewn him ſo far, yea, he ſpake even of the Marriage of *Baſtian*. I inquired him of his Letters, whereunto he complained of the Cruelty of ſome, anſwered that he was aſtoniſhed, and that he was ſo glad to ſee me, that he believed to die for gladneſs, he found great fault that I was penſive, I departed to Supper, this Bearer will tell you of my arriving, he prayed me to return, the which I did; he declared unto me his ſickneſs, and that he would make no Teſtament but only leave all things to me, and that I was the cauſe of his Malady, becauſe of the regret that he had that I was ſo ſtrange unto him. And thus he ſaid, you ask me what I mean by the Cruelty contained in my Letter, it is of you alone that will not accept of my offers and repentance. I confeſs that I have failed, but not into that which I ever denied, and ſuch like has fallen to ſundry of your Subjects which

This bearer will tell you ſomwhat upon this.

which you have forgiven. I am young. You will say, that you have forgiven me oftentimes, and yet that I return to my faults. May not any Man of my Age for lack of Counsel fall twice or thrice, or in lack of his Promise, and at last repent himself, and be chastised by experience? If I may obtain pardon, I protest I shall never make fault again. And I crave no other thing, but that we may be at Bed and Board together as Husband and Wife: and if you will not consent hereunto, I will never rise out of this bed. I pray you tell me your Resolution. God knows how I am punished for making my God of you, and for having no other thought but on you; and if at any time I offend you, you are the cause, because when any offends me, if for my Refuge I might complain unto you, I would speak it unto no other body; but when I hear any thing, not being familiar with you, necessity constrains me to keep it in my Breast; and that causes me to try my Wit for very anger. I answered straight unto him, But that would be over-long to write at length. I asked why he would pass away in the English Ship? He denies it, and swears thereunto; but he grants that he spake with the Men. After this, I inquired of the Inquisition of *Highgates*; he denied the same, while I shewed him the very Words were spoken. At which time he said, that *Minto* had advertised him that it was said that some of the Council had brought one Letter to me to be subscribed to put him in Prison, and to slay him if he made resistance. And he asked the same of *Minto* himself, who answered, That he believed the same to be true. In the Morning I will speak to him upon this point. As to the rest, *William Highgates* he confessed it; but it was the Morning after my coming ere he did it. He would very fain that I should lodge in his Lodging; I refused it, and said to him, that he behoved to be purged, and that could not be done here: he said to me, I hear say you have brought one Letter with you, but I had rather have passed with you. I think he believed that I would have sent him away Prisoner; I answered, That I would take him with me to *Cragmillar*, where the Physician and I might help him, and not be far from my Son: he answered, that he was ready when I pleased, so I would assure him of his Request; he desires no body to see him; he is angry when I speak of *Walcar*, and says, that he shall pluck the ears from off his Head, and that he lies; for I inquired him upon that, and that he was angry with some of the Lords, and would threaten them; he denies that, and says, he loves them all, and prays me to give trust to nothing against him, as to me he would rather give his Life ere he did any displeasure to me. And after this he shewed me of so many little flatteries, so coldly, and so wisely, that you will be ashamed thereat. I had almost forgot that he said he could not doubt of me in this purpose of *Highgates*, for he would never believe that I who was his proper Flesh would do him any evil, as well it was shewn that I refused to subscribe the same: but as to any others that would pursue him, at least

leaſt he ſhould ſell his Life dear enough; but he ſuſpected no body nor yet would not, but would love all that I loved; he would not let me depart from him, but deſired that I ſhould wake with him: I make it ſeem that I believe that all is true, and takes heed thereto, and excuſed my ſelf for this night that I could not wake: he ſays he ſleeps not well; you ſaw him never better, nor ſpeak more humble; and if I had not a proof of his heart of Wax, and that mine were not of a Diamond, whereinto no ſhot can make breach, but that which comes forth of your hand, I would have almoſt had pity of him. But fear not, the place ſhall hold unto the death. Remember in recompence thereof, that ye ſuffer not yours to be won by that falſe Race that will travel no leſs with you for the ſame. I believe they have been at School together; he has ever the tear in his Eye; he ſalutes every body, yea unto the leaſt, and makes piteous moan unto them to make them have pity on him. This day his Father bled at the mouth and noſe; gheſs what Preſage that is: I have not yet ſeen him, he keeps his Chamber. The King deſires that I ſhould give him Meat with mine own hands: but give no more truſt where you are than I ſhall do here. This is my firſt Journey; I ſhall ſend the ſame to morrow. I write all things; howbeit they be of little weight, to the end that ye may take the beſt of all to judge upon. I am in doing of a work here that I hate greatly. Have you not a deſire to laugh to ſee me lie ſo well, at the leaſt to diſſemble ſo well, and to tell him truth betwixt hands. He ſhewed me almoſt all that is in the Name of the Biſhop and *Sunderland*, and yet I have never touched one word of that you ſhewed me, but only by force flattering, and to pray him to aſſure himſelf of me; and by complaining on the Biſhop I have drawn it all out of him: you have heard the reſt. We are coupled with two falſe Races, the Devil ſunder us, and God knit us together for the moſt faithful couple that ever he united. This is my Faith, I will die in it. Excuſe it, I write evil, you may gheſs the half of it, but I cannot mend it, becauſe I am not well at eaſe, and very glad to write unto you when the reſt are aſleep, ſith I cannot ſleep as they do, and as I would deſire, that is, in your Arms my dear Love, whom I pray God to preſerve from all evil, and ſend you repoſe. I am going to ſeek mine till the Morning, when I ſhall end my Bible; but I am vexed that it ſtops me to write news of my ſelf unto you, becauſe it is ſo long. Advertiſe me what you have deliberated to do in the matter, you know upon this point, to the end that we may underſtand each other well, that nothing thereof be ſpilt. I am weary, and going to ſleep, and yet I ceaſe not to ſcribble all this Paper in ſo much as remains thereof. Wearied might this pocky man be, that cauſes me to have ſo much pain, for without him I ſhould have a far pleaſanter Subject to diſcourſe upon. He is not overmuch deformed, yet he has received very much. He has almoſt ſlain me with his breath, it is worſe than your Uncles, and yet I came no nearer unto him but in a Chair at the beds feet, and being at the other end thereof.

The meſſage of the Father in the Gate.
The purpoſe of Sir *James Hamilton.*
Of that the L. of *Luſſe* ſhewed me of the delay.
Of the demands that he asked of *Joachim.*
Of my eſtate, of my company, of the occaſion of my coming, and of *Joſeph.*
Item, the purpoſe that he and I had together.
Of the deſire he has to pleaſe me, and of his repentance.
Of the interpretation of his Letter.
Of *William Highgates* matter of his departing.
Of *Monſeur de Levingſton.*

I had almoſt forgot that *Monſeur de Levingſton* ſaid in the Lady *Reres* ear at Supper, that he would drink to the folk I wiſt of, if I would pledge them. And after Supper he ſaid to me when I was leaning upon him warming me at the fire; you have fair going to ſee ſuch folk, yet you cannot be ſo welcome unto them, as you left ſome body this day in ſadneſs, that will never be merry while he ſee you again. I aſked of him, who that was? with that he thruſt my body and ſaid, that ſome of his folks had ſeen you in ſaſchery, you may gheſs at the reſt. I wrought this day while it was two hours upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thereof, which is coupled underneath with two cordwins. I have had ſo little time that it is evil made; but I ſhall make one fairer in the mean time. Take heed that none that is here ſee it, for all the world will know it; becauſe for haſt it was made in their preſence. I am now paſſing to my intended purpoſe. You make me diſſemble ſo far that I have horrour thereat; and you cauſe me to do almoſt the office of a Traitour. Remember how if it were not to obey you, I had rather be dead ere I did it; my heart bleeds at it. So that, he will not come with me except upon condition that I will promiſe to him that I ſhall be at Bed and Board with him as before, and that I ſhall leave him not after; and doing this upon my word he will do all things that I pleaſe, and come with me; but he prayed me to remain with him while another morning. He ſpake very bravely at the beginning, as this Bearer will ſhew you, upon the purpoſe of the Engliſh-men, and of his departing; but in the end he returned again to his humility. He ſhewed amongſt other purpoſes that he knew well enough, that my Brother had ſhewed me that thing which he had ſpoken in *Scriveling*; of the which he denies the one half, and above all, that ever he came in his Chamber. For to make him truſt me, it behoved me to feign in ſome things with him; therefore when he requeſted me to promiſe unto him, that when he was whole we ſhould have both one Bed, I ſaid to him, feigningly and making me believe his promiſes, that if he changed not purpoſes betwixt this and that time, I would be content therewith; but in the mean time I bad him take heed that he let no body know thereof; becauſe to ſpeak amongſt our ſelves the

Lords

Lords could not be offended, nor will evil therefore. But they would fear in respect of the boasting he made of them, that if ever we agreed together, he should make them know the little account they took of him; and that he counselled me not to purchase some of them by him; they for this cause would be in jealousie, if attains without their knowledge, I should break the play set up in the contrary in their presence. He said very joyfully: And think you they will esteem you the more for that? But I am very glad that you speak to me of the Lords, for I believe at this time you desire that we should live together in quietness; for if it were otherways, greater inconvenience might come to us both than we are aware of; but now I will do whatever you will do, and will love all that you love, and desire you to make them love in like manner; for since they seek not my life, I love them all equally. Upon this point the Bearer will shew you many small things. Because I have over-much to write, and it is late, I give trust unto him upon your word. So that he will go upon my word to all places. Alas, I never deceived any body, But I remit me altogether to your will. Send me Advertisement what I shall do, and whatsoever thing shall come thereof I shall obey you. Advise too with your self if you can find any more secret invention by *medicine:* for he should take *medicine* and the *bath* at *Cragmillar*. He may not come forth of the house this long time. So that by all that I can learn, he is in great suspition; and yet notwithstanding he gives credit to my word; but yet not so far as that he will shew any thing to me. But nevertheless I shall draw it out of him, if you will that I avow all unto him. But I will never rejoyce to defame any body that trusts in me; yet notwithstanding you may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cause, by reason you are the occasion of it your self, because for mine own particular revenge I would not do it to him. He gives me some checks of that which I feared, yea even in the quick, he says thus far, that his faults were publish'd, but there is that commits faults that believe they will never be spoken of, and yet they will speak of great and small. As towards the Lady *Reres* he said, I pray God that she may serve you for your Honour. And said, it is thought, and he believes it to be true, that I have not the Power of my self over my self, and that because of the refuse I made of his offers. So that, for certainty he suspects of the thing you know, and of his life. But as to the last, how soon that I spake two or three good words unto him, he rejoyces, and is out of doubt. I saw him not this evening to end your bracelet, to the which I can get no locks, it is ready for them, and yet I fear it will bring some evil, and may be seen if you chance to be hurt. Advertise me if you will have it, and if you will have more silver, and when I shall return, and how far I may speak. He ingages when he hears of *Lethington*, or of you, or of my Brother. Of your Brother he speaks nothing, he speaks of the Earl of *Argyle*. I am in fear when I hear him speak; for he assures himself that he has not one evil opinion of

him. He ſpeaks nothing of them that is ought neither good or evil, but flies that point. His Father keeps his Chamber, I have not ſeen him. All the *Hamiltons* are here, that accompanies me very honorably. All the Friends of the other conveys me when I go to ſee him. He deſires me to come, and ſee him riſe the Morn betime. For to make ſhort, this Bearer will tell you the reſt. And if I learn any thing here, I will make you a Memorial at Even. He will tell you the occaſion of my remaining. Burn this Letter, for it is over dangerous, and nothing well ſaid in it; for I am thinking upon nothing but fraud. If you be in *Edenburgh* at the receipt of it, ſend me word ſoon. Be not offended, for I give not over-great credit. Now ſeeing to obey you, my dear Love, I ſpare neither Honour, Conſcience, Hazard, nor Greatneſs whatſoever, take it I pray you in good part; end not after the Interpretation of your falſe good Brother; to whom I pray you give no credit, againſt the moſt faithful Lover that ever you had, or ever ſhall have. *See not her whoſe faint Tears ſhould not be ſo much praiſed nor eſteemed, as the true and faithful Travels, which I ſuſtain for to merit her place. For obtaining of the which againſt my Nature, I betray them that may impeach me.* God forgive me, and God give you, my only Love, the Hap and Proſperity, which your humble and faithful Love deſires of you, who hopes to be ſhortly another thing to you for the reward of my irkſom Travels. It is late, I deſire never to ceaſe from writing unto you, yet now after the kiſſing of your Hands, I will end my Letter. Excuſe my evil Writing, and Read it twice over. Excuſe that thing that is ſcribled, for I had no Paper yeſterday when *I* writ that of the Memorial. Remember your Love, and write unto her, and that very oft. Love me as *I* ſhall do you. Remember you of the purpoſe of the Lady *Reres*, of the *Engliſh-men*, of his Mother, of the Earl of *Argile*, of the Earl *Bothwell*, of the Lodging in *Edenburgh*.

Huntley.

Bothwel's own Wife.

Another Letter to *Bothwell*, concerning certain Tokens that ſhe ſent him.

Monſieur,

SI l'envy de voſtre abſence, celuy de voſtre oubly, la crainte du danger, tant prouve d' un chacun à voſtre tant amée perſonne, &c.

My Lord,

IF the diſpleaſure of your Abſence, of your Forgetfulneſs, the fear of danger ſo promiſed by every one to your ſo loved Perſon, may give me Conſolation, I leave it to you to judge, ſeeing the miſhap that my cruel lot and continual miſadventure, has hitherto promiſed me following the misfortunes and fears as well of late as of a long time by-paſt, the which you do know. But for all that I will in no wiſe accuſe you, neither of your little remembrance, neither of your little care, and leaſt of all your Promiſe broken, or of the coldneſs of your Writing, ſince I am elſe ſo far made yours, that

that that which pleaſes you is acceptable to me, and my thoughts are ſo willingly ſubdued unto yours, that I ſuppoſe that all that cometh of you, proceeds not of any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, but rather for ſuch as be juſt and reaſonable, and ſuch as I deſire my ſelf. Which is the final Order that you promiſed to take, for the ſurety and honourable Service of the only Supporter of my life: for which alone I will preſerve the ſame, and without the which I deſire not but ſudden Death. And to teſtifie unto you how lowly I ſubmit me under your Commandments, I have ſent you in ſign of homage by *Pareis*, the Ornament of the Head, which is the chief guide of the other Members; inferring thereby, that by the ſeiſing of you in the poſſeſſion of the ſpoil of that which is principal, the remnant cannot be but ſubject unto you, and with conſenting of the heart. In place whereof, ſince I have elſe left it unto you, I ſend unto you one Sepulture of hard ſtone coloured with black, ſawin with tears and bones. The ſtone I compare to my Heart, that as it is carved in one ſure *Sepulture* or harbour of your Commandments, and above all of your Name and Memory, that are therein incloſed, *as is my Heart* in this Ring, never to come forth while Death grant unto you one Trophy of Victory of my Bones, as the Ring is filled, in ſign you have made one full Conqueſt of me, of mine Heart, and unto that my Bones are left unto you, in remembrance of your Victory, and my acceptable love and willingneſs, for to be better beſtowed than I merit. The ameling that is about is black, which ſignifies the ſtedfaſtneſs of her that ſendeth the ſame. The tears are without number, ſo are the fears to diſpleaſe you; the tears for your Abſence, the diſdain that I cannot be in outward effect yours, as I am without faintneſs of Heart and Spirit, and of good reaſon, though my Merits were much greater than that of the moſt proſt that ever was, and ſuch as I deſire to be, and ſhall take pains in Conditions to imitate, for to be beſtowed worthily under your Regiment. My only Wealth, receive therefore in as good part the ſame, as I have received your Marriage with extream Joy, that which ſhall not part forth of my boſom while that Marriage of our Bodies be made in publick, as ſign of all that I either hope or deſire of Bliſs in this World. Yet, my Heart, fearing to diſpleaſe you, as much in the reading hereof, as it delights me in the writing, *I* will make an end, after that *I* have kiſſed your Hand, with as great affection as *I* pray God (O the only ſupporter of my Life) to give you long and bleſſed Life, and to me your good Favor, as the only good that *I* deſire, and to the which *I* pretend: *I* have ſhewn unto this Bearer that which *I* have learned, to whom *I* remit me, knowing the Credit that you give him, as ſhe doth, that will be for ever unto you an humble and obedient lawful Wife, that for ever dedicates unto you her Heart, her Body, without any Change as unto him that *I* have made Poſſeſſor of my Heart, of which you may hold you aſſured, that unto the Death ſhall no ways be changed for; evil nor good ſhall never make me go from it.

A Head.

The Queens Heart.

An

Another Letter to *Bothwell* of her Love to him.

JAy veillé plus tard la haut que je n'euſſe fait, ſi ce n'euſt eſte pour tirer ce que ce porteur vous dira, que je treuve la plus belle commodité pour excuſer voſtre affaire qui ce pourroit preſenter, &c.

I Have waked later thare up then I would have done, if it had not been to draw ſomething out of him, which this Bearer will ſhew you, which is the faireſt Commodity, that can be offered to excuſe your Affairs. I have promiſed to bring him to him in the Morn. Put order to it if you find it good. Now Sir, I have broken my Promiſe, becauſe you commanded me neither to write nor ſend unto you; yet I have not done this to offend you. And if you knew the fear that I have preſently, you would not have ſo many contrary ſuſpitions in your thought, which notwithſtanding I treat and cheriſh as proceeding from the thing in the World that I moſt deſire and ſeek faſteſt to have, which is your good Grace. Of the which my Behaviour ſhall aſſure me; as to me I ſhall never deſpair of it. And prays you according to your Promiſe to diſcharge your Heart unto me; otherwiſe I will think that my evil and the good handling of her that has not the third part of the Faithful, nor willing Obedience unto you that I bear, has won againſt my will that advantage over me, which the ſecond Love of *Jaſon* won. Not that I will compare you to one ſo unhappy as he was, nor yet my ſelf to one ſo unpitiful a Woman as ſhe. Howbeit you cauſe me to be ſomewhat like unto her in any thing that touches you, or that may preſerve and keep you unto her, to whom only you appertain; if it be ſo that *I* may appropriate that which is won through faithful, yea only loving of you, as *I* do and ſhall do all the days of my life, for pain or evil that can come thereof. In recompenſe of the which, and of all the evils which you have been cauſe of to me, remember you upon the place here beſide. *I* crave with that you keep Promiſe to me in the Morn, but that we may meet together, and that you give no faith to ſuſpicions without the certainty of them. And *I* crave no other thing of God, but that you may know that thing that is in my Heart, which is yours, and that he may preſerve you from all evil, at leaſt ſo long as *I* have life, which *I* repute not precious unto me, except in ſo far as it and *I* both are agreeable unto you: *I* am going to bed, and will bid you good Night. Advertiſe me timely in the Morning how you have fared, for *I* will be in pain until *I* get word. Make good watch, if the Bird get out of the Cage, or without her Mate, as the Turtle, *I* ſhall remain alone to lament your abſence how ſhort that ſoever it be. This Letter will do with a good Heart that thing, which *I* cannot do my ſelf, if it be not that *I* have fear that you are in ſleeping. *I* durſt not write this before *Joſeph*, *Baſtian*, and *Joachim*, that did but depart even when *I* began to write.

An-

Another Letter to *Bothwel* concerning the departure of *Margaret Carwood*, who was privie and a helper of all their love.

MOn cœur helas! faul li que la follie d' une femme, dont vous cognoiſſez aſſez l' in gratitude vers moy, ſoit cauſe de vous donner deplaſir, &c.

MY heart, alas, muſt the folly of a woman whoſe thankfulneſs toward me you do ſufficiently know, be occaſion of diſpleaſure unto you? conſidering that I could not have remedied thereunto without knowing it? And ſince that I perceive it, I could not tell it you, for that I knew not how to govern my ſelf therein. For neither in that, nor in any other thing, will I take upon me to do any thing without knowledge of your will. Which I beſeech you let me underſtand, for I will follow it all my life, more willingly than you ſhall declare it to me. And if you do not ſend me word this night what you will that I ſhall do, I will rid my ſelf of it, and hazard to cauſe it to be enterpriſed and taken in hand; which might be hurtful unto that whereunto both we do tend. And when ſhe ſhall be married, I beſeech you give me one, or elſe I will take ſuch as ſhall content you, for their conditions, but as for their tongues or faithfulneſs toward you, I will not anſwer. I beſeech you that an opinion of another perſon be not hurtful in your mind to my conſtancy. Miſtruſt me, but then I will put you out of doubt and clear my ſelf. Refuſe it not, my dear life, and ſuffer me to make you ſome proof by my obedience, my faithfulneſs, conſtancy, and voluntary ſubjection, which I take for the pleaſanteſt good that I might receive, if you will accept it, and make no ceremony at it, for you could do me no greater outrage, nor give more mortal grief.

Another Letter ſent from *Sterling* to *Bothwell*, concerning the practice for her Raviſhment.

MOnſieur helas pourquoy eſt voſtre fiance miſe en peſſonné ſi indigne, pour ſo up conner ce qui eſt entierement voſtre. J' enrage, vous m' aviez promiſe, &c.

ALas, my Lord, why is your truſt put in a perſon ſo unworthy, to miſtruſt that which is wholly yours? I am mad. You had promiſed me that you would reſolve all, and that you would ſend me word every day what I ſhould do, you have done nothing thereof. I advertiſed you well to take heed of your falſe Brother in law; he came to me, and without ſhewing me any thing from you, told me that you had willed him to write to you that that I ſhould ſay, and where and when you ſhould come to me, and that that you ſhould do touching him, and thereupon hath preached unto me that it was a fooliſh enterpriſe, and

that

that with mine honour I could never marry you, seeing that being married you did carry me away, and that his folks would not suffer it, and that the Lords would unsay themselves, and would deny that they had said. To be short, he is all contrary. I told him, that seeing I was come so far, if you not withdraw your self of your self, that no perswasion nor death it self should make me fail of my promise. As touching the place, you are too negligent (pardon me) to remit your self thereof unto me. Chuse it your self, and send me word of it. And in the mean time I am sick, I will differ, as touching the matter it is too late. It was not long of me that you have not thought thereupon in time. And if you had not more changed your mind since mine absence than I have, you should not be now to ask such resolving. Well there wanteth nothing of my part, and seeing that your negligence doth put us both in the danger of a false Brother, if it succeed not well, I will never rise again. I send this Bearer unto you, for I dare not trust your Brother with these Letters nor with the business. He shall tell you in what state I am, and judg you what amendment these new ceremonies have brought unot me. I would I were dead, for I see all goeth ill. You promised other manner of matter of your foreseeing, but absence hath power over you, who have two strings to your bow. Dispatch the Answer, that I fail not, and put no trust in your Brother for his enterprise, for he hath told it, and is also quite against it. God give you good night.

Another wife.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* for the Practice and Device to excuse the Ravishing.

DV lieu & de l'heure je m' en rap porte à vostre frere & à vous, je le suiuray & ne fauldray en rien de ma part. Il trouve beauc oup de difficultez, &c.

OF the Place and Time, *I* remit my self to your Brother and to you. *I* will follow him, and will fail in nothing of my part. He findeth many Difficulties; *I* think he doth advertise you thereof: and what he doth advertise you for the handling of himself. As for the handling of my self *I* heard it once well devised. Methinks that your Services, and the long Amity, having the good will of the Lords, do well deserve a Pardon, if above the duty of a Subject you advance your self, not to constrain me, but to assure your self of such place nigh unto me, that other Admonitions or foreign Perswasions may not lett me from consenting to that that you hope your Service shall make you one day to attain; and to be short, to make your self sure of the Lords, and free to Marry: and that you are constrained for your surety, and to be able to serve me faithfully, to use an humble Request, joyned to an importune Action. And to be short, excuse your self, and perswade them the most you can, that you are constrained to make pursuit against your Enemies. You shall say enough, if the Matter or Ground

Ground do like you, and many fair words to *Ledinton*. If you like not the Deed send me word, and leave not the blame of all unto me.

Another Letter to *Bothwell* of the Practice for her Raviſhment, and to adviſe him to be ſtrange to do it.

MOnſieur depuis ma lettre eſcrit voſtre beau frere qui fuſt, eſt venu à moy fort triſte, & m' à demandé mon counſeil de ce qu' il feroit apres demain, &c.

MY Lord, ſince my Letter written, your Brother-in-law that was, came to me very ſad, and both asked me my counſel, what he ſhould do after to morrow, becauſe there be many Folks here, and among others the Earl of *Southerland*, who would rather die, conſidering the good they have ſo lately received of me, than ſuffer me to be carried away, they conducting me; and that he feared there ſhould ſome trouble happen of it: of the other ſide, that it ſhould be ſaid that he were unthankful to have betrayed me. I told him that he ſhould have reſolved with you upon all that: and that he ſhould avoid, if he could, thoſe that were moſt miſtruſted. He hath reſolved to write thereof to you of my opinion; for he hath abaſhed me to ſee him ſo unreſolved at the need. I aſſure my ſelf, he will play the part of an honeſt Man. But I have thought good to advertiſe you of the fear he hath, that he ſhould be charged and accuſed of Treaſon, to the end, that without miſtruſting him, you may be the more circumſpect, and that you may have the more power: For we had yeſterday more than three hundred Horſe of *Kis*, and of *Leniſton*. For the Honor of God be accompanied rather with more than leſs; for that is the principal of my Care. I go to write my diſpatch, and pray God to ſend us an happy interview ſhortly. I write in haſte, to the end you may be adviſed in time.

Of the Bills of Proclamation and Combat, ſet up by Bothwell, *and the Anſwers.*

IMmediately after the Death of the King, who was Murthered, and his Houſe blown up with Gun-powder, the Ninth Day of *February* in the Night, 1567. Proclamation was made, That whoſoever could bewray the cruel Murtherers of the King ſhould have two thouſand Pounds. Unto the which Proclamation, reply was made, and ſet up privily upon the *Tol-Booth* Door of *Edinburgh*, the Sixteenth of *February* in this manner.

BEcauſe Proclamation is made, That whoſoever will reveal the Murtherers of the King ſhall have two thouſand Pounds, *I* who have made in-

quisition by them that were the doers thereof, affirm that the Committers of it were the Earl *Bothwell*, Master *James Balfoure*, the Parson of *Flisk*, Mr. *David Chambers*, *Black* Mr. *John Spence*, who was principal deviser of the Murther, and the Queen assenting thereto through the perswasion of the Earl *Bothwell*, and the Witchcraft of the Lady *Bucklough*.

If this be not true, spere at *Gilbert Bamfoord.*

UPon this, new Proclamation was made the same Day, desiring the setter up of the said Bill to come and avow and subscribe the same, and he should have the Sum promised in the first Proclamation, and further according to his Ability, and sight of the Queen, and her Counsel.

The answer thereunto was set up in the place aforesaid, the morrow after, being the Nineteenth of the same Month.

FOrasmuch as Proclamation hath been made since the setting up of my first Letter, desiring me to subscribe, and avow the same; for answer, *I* desire the Money to be consigned into an evenly Man's hand, and *I* shall appear on *Sunday* next with some four with me, and subscribe my first Letter, and abide thereat. And further *I* desire that *Senior Francis Bastian*, and *Joseph* the Queens Goldsmith be staid, and *I* shall declare what every Man did in particular, with their Complices.

To which Bill no Answer was made.

THE Thirteenth Day of *April* the Earl *Bothwell* coming to the Sessions at *Edenburgh*, with an Enfign displaid, and the Streets full of armed Men of his Faction, was arraigned for Murther of the King, and acquit of the same by a perjured Jury: whereupon he set up a Challenge to fight hand to hand with any Man, (being no Person defamed) that would avow the matter.

Hereunto answer was made by another Bill set up in the same place anon after.

That forasmuch as the said Earl *Bothwell* had set up a Writing, subscribed with his own hand, whereby he did Challenge any Man (not defamed) that would or durst say he was guilty of the King's Death, and therewithal did give the Lye in his Throat to him that would avouch the Quarrel: a Gentleman, and a Man of good Fame, did by those Presents accept the offer and offers, and would prove by the Law of Arms, that he was the chief Author of that foul and horrible Murther, albeit an inquest for fear of Death had slightly quit him. And because the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* had by their Ambassadors desired that Tryal and Punishment might be had for the same, he most heartily therefore craved of their Majesties, that they would desire of the Queen his Sovereign, that by her Consent

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they might appoint their day and place within the Dominions for the tryal thereof according to the Law of Arms, in their presences, or in their Deputies. Which day and place he promised by the faith of a Gentleman to appear at, and to his devoir, provided always that their Majesties by open Proclamation shall give assurance to him and to his company, to pass and repass through their Countries, without hurt or impediment. What just cause he had to desire the King of *France* and the Queen of *England* to be Judges in the Case, he remitted to the Judgment of the Readers and the hearers, warning by those presents the rest of the murtherers to prepare themselves, for they should have the like offer made unto them, and their names given in writing, that they might be known unto all men.

The Confession of John Habroun, *young* Talla, Dagleish *and* Pourie, *upon whom was justice executed, the third of* January, *the year of God* 1567.

John Bowton confessed, that nine was at the deed doing, my Lord *Bothwell*, the Lord of *Ormiston*, *Hob Ormiston*, himself, *Talla*, *Dagliſh*, *Vilson*, *Pourie*, and *French Paris*, and that he saw no more, nor knew of no other companies.

Item, he knows no other but that that he was blown in the Air, for he was handled with no mens hands as he saw, and if it was, it was with others, and not with them.

Item, as touching Sir *James Balfour*, he saw not his Subscription, but I warrant you he was the principal Counsellour and deviser.

Item, he said, I confess that it is the very providence of God that has brought me to his Judgment, for I am led to it as an horse to the stall, for I had ships provided to flie but could not escape.

Item, he said, let no man do evil for counsel of great men, or their Masters, thinking they shall save them, for surely I thought that night that the deed was done, that although knowledge should be got, no man durst have said it was evil done, seeing the hand writ, and acknowledging the Queens mind thereto.

Item, Speaking of the Queen in the *Tol-booth*, he said, God make all well, but the longer dirt is hidden it is the stronger. Who Lives, our Deaths will be thought no news.

Item, In the Conclusion he confessed, he was one of the principal doers of the Death, and therefore is justly worthy of Death, but he was assured of the Mercy of God, who called him to repentance.

Item, *Talla* confessed *ut supra*, agreeing in all Points as concerning the Persons, number, and blowing up into the Air.

Item, He affirmed, that in *Seton* my Lord *Bothwell* called on him, and said, What thought you when you saw him blown in the Air? Who answered, Alas, my Lord, why speak you that? for when ever I hear such a thing,

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the words wound me to death, as they ought to do you.

Item, That same time he saw Sir *James Balfour* put in his own name and his Brother's unto my Lord *Bothwel*'s Remission.

Item, He knew of the Deed doing three or four days ere it was done, or thereabout.

Item, He said, after that I came to the Court, I left the reading of God's Word, and embraced Vanity, and therefore has God justly brought this on me.

Wherefore let all Men shun evil Company, and to trust not in Men, for ready are we to embrace evil, as ready as Tinder to receive fire. And further in the *Tol-booth* he required *John Brand*, Minister of the Congregation, to pass to my Lord *Lindsey*, and say, My Lord, heartily I forgive your Lordship, and also my Lord Regent and all others, but specially them that betrayed me to you; for I know if you could have saved me you would, desiring as ye will answer before God at the later Day to do your diligence to bring the rest who were the beginners of this Work to Justice, as ye have done to me; for ye know it was not begun in my head, but yet he praises God that his Justice has begun at me, by the which he has called me to repentance.

ITem, *Dagleish* said, as God shall be my Judge, I knew nothing of the King's Death before it was done, for my Lord *Bothwell* going to his Bed, after the taking off of his Hose, which was stocked with Velvet, *French Pard* came and spake with him, and after that he tarried on me for other Hose and Cloaths, and his riding Cloak and Sword, which I gave him, and after that came up to the Gate to the Lord of *Ormiston*'s Lodging, and tarried for him, and thereafter that he passed to a Place beside the Black Friars, and came to the slope of the Dike, where he bid me stand still; and as God shall be my Judge, I knew nothing while I heard the Blast of Powder; and after this he came home, lay down in his Bed, while Mr. *George Hacket* came and knocked at the Door; and if I die for this, the which God Judge me if I knew more, what shall be done to the Devisers, Counsellers, Subscribers, and Fortifiers of it?

FINIS.

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